The Thesis Committee for Allison Michelle Porambo
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:

A Personal Treasure: The Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter (Walters Art Museum MS W. 10) and its Originally-Intended Owner.

APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:

Supervisor:

Joan A. Holladay

Jeffrey Chipps Smith

A Personal Treasure: The Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter (Walters Art Museum MS W. 10) and its Originally-Intended Owner

by

Allison Michelle Porambo, B.A.

Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2017

Dedication

For Joan A. Holladay and Robert and Elyse Porambo.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Lynley Anne Herbert, Robert and Nancy Hall Assistant Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, for allowing me to view and handle the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter itself and look through the psalter's curatorial files in the wake of a busy Holiday season. I must thank her additionally for photocopying some of these files and answering my questions about manuscript terminology.

Next, I must thank my second reader, Dr. Jeffrey Chipps Smith, not only for reading through my thesis but for offering valuable and thought-provoking criticism.

I owe my mother and father, Elyse and Robert Porambo, a great debt of gratitude for supporting me in countless ways— material, emotional, and mental— and for believing in me even when I did not believe in myself.

Finally, I owe the largest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Joan A. Holladay. Not only did she read and proofread my entire thesis (twice), appendices, and bibliography, but she inspired me to look out of my comfort zone in the first place for a less-explored topic for my thesis. A major source of moral support for me throughout these two years, Dr. Holladay encouraged me out of the imposter syndrome-muck to become three times the writer and scholar that I was than when I entered graduate school two years ago.

To all of you, *vielen Dank*.

Abstract

A Personal Treasure: The Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter (Walters Art Museum MS W. 10) and its Originally-Intended Owner

Allison Michelle Porambo, M.A.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2017

Supervisor: Joan A. Holladay

Earlier scholarship on the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 10) focuses almost exclusively on the identity of the noblewoman depicted in the full-page owner portrait before the start of the psalm text. This study will instead examine how this unusually small manuscript and its illuminations functioned as a private devotional prayer book for its original intended owner, Duchess Matilda Plantagenet (1156-1189), wife of Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony and Bavaria (1129-1195). This analysis will explore how the psalter's textual content, physical format, and illuminations, particularly the portrait of the originally-intended owner, appealed to the Duchess Matilda sensually as well as spiritually. The Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter offers a rare opportunity to compare the public artistic commissions of a medieval magnate, including architecture, reliquaries, and manuscripts, with the more private works of patronage made at his court. To that purpose, the Gospels of Henry the Lion (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2°), commissioned by the ducal couple for the Saxon court church of Saint Blaise in Brunswick, will be examined, bringing the

intimacy of the psalter into stark relief. The Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter provides a glimpse of the personal and spiritual role that illuminated manuscripts played in the lives of medieval laymen and –women and hints at the taste for personal prayer books with portraits of the owners at their devotions that would arrive in the next century. This thesis will make the psalter the topic of extensive art historical analysis for the first time.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

Ever since the former royal family of Hanover began to sell their medieval art treasures after the First World War, interest among historians of medieval art in the artistic commissions of their direct ancestor, Henry the Lion, has flourished. Henry was the forefather of the Welf (later Hanover) dynasty, the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria (r. 1142-1195), and archrival of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (r. 1155-1190). In the succeeding decades, Henry has been the subject of countless exhibitions, from the National Socialist to the art historical. Buried in the back of these various Henry-focused exhibition catalogues and scholarly studies, one often finds the photographic reproduction of a relatively modest and well-worn full-page illumination depicting a standing noblewoman wearing an miniver-lined robe facing toward her left, with her hands raised in front of her body. This is the introductory image of a small, late twelfth-century psalter, universally agreed to have been written and illuminated at Helmarshausen Abbey as a commission of Henry the Lion and currently in the collection of the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (MS W. 10, fol. 6v) (fig. 1). Believed to have been made for a female relative of Duke Henry, this psalter has been the topic of a lively but intermittent scholarly debate since the 1930s over its originally intended owner, the woman depicted in the full-page image. Henry's first wife, Clementia of Zähringen, his second wife, Matilda of England, and his eldest daughter, Gertrude, queen of Denmark, have all been proposed as the Psalter's *destinatrice*.

Unfortunately, the identity of the Psalter's originally intended owner makes up the overwhelming bulk of the art historical scholarship on the Baltimore-Helmarshausen

Psalter.[1] Rather than focusing on this well-argued controversy, I propose to examine how the Psalter and its decorations functioned as a private devotional work for whomever the book was destined. A twelfth-century illuminated manuscript made for private use, the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter offers a rare opportunity to compare the public artistic commissions of a medieval magnate, including architecture, reliquaries, and manuscripts, with the more private works of patronage made at his court. I will begin by discussing how the format of the psalter helped to facilitate its devotional purpose. Looking at the manuscript as a whole— particularly its diminutive size, I will argue that the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter created an intimate religious experience for the owner while proclaiming her wealth and cultural sophistication to all who saw it. In particular, I will look to earlier prayer books made for Carolingian and Ottonian emperors, as well as an earlier duchess of Bavaria and ancestress of Henry the Lion, for similarities in imagery and format. While the format recalls earlier personal prayer books made for imperial, royal, and ducal patrons, the dimensions match those of a genre of miniature Byzantine prayer books, particularly psalters, popular around Constantinople in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These similarities can be connected to Henry the Lion's political ambitions, both before and after his visit to Byzantium, goals that were proclaimed in this manuscript and in other artistic commissions as well.

[1] The psalter is referred to by several German scholars as the "Baltimore Psalter", while the psalter is described by the Walters Art Museum website and literature as the "Helmarshausen Psalter". Because of the confusion each name creates outside of its context, I have chosen to refer to Walters Art Museum MS W. 10 as the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter in this thesis.

Next, I will turn to the owner portrait and the purpose it served as part of the psalter's decoration. [2] The iconography of such images will be traced back beyond Carolingian and Ottonian illuminations and to contemporary Byzantine portraiture. In these earlier images, donor-owners were depicted handing over a gift, often the very book in which the illumination is included, to a saint or holy figure. The figure of the *destinatrice* in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter does not easily conform to these earlier models. She stands apart from whomever or whatever she faced— the opposite leaf is lost— but her hands are in a gesture of devotion. The boundaries between the identities of owner, donor, devotee, and actor in a holy drama are muddied. I will argue that the form of the *destinatrice* found in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter reflects a growing focus on interiority in contemporary lay religion, where spiritual introspection brings the soul closer to God. This new form of devotion mirrored in the owner portrait of the psalter would be amplified in the portrayals of devotee-owners found in later Gothic psalter-hours and books of hours. In addition, I seek to propose the likely content of the missing opposite folio, based upon iconographic clues visible in the owner portrait and known conventions of religious art in the late twelfth century.

Finally, I will explore how the differences between the contexts of Henry's manuscript patronage, that is for public or private display or use, translate into differences in style, format, and imagery. From Henry's turbulent ascension to the

[2] By the term "owner portrait," I refer to any image meant to refer to a specific individual who was the original intended owner of the manuscript. I do not intend to suggest that the "portraits" discusses in the following thesis were direct physiognomic likenesses, a meaning that term would gain during the Renaissance.

dukedom in 1142 as an adolescent, to his ruthless acquisition of territories as an adult, and in his later conflicts with his cousin, Fredrick Barbarossa, Henry's life had no shortage of political turmoil. This turmoil, ranging from near constant warfare throughout his life to two periods of imperial exile from his domains, is reflected in the style, medium, and content of the works of art that he commissioned. The gospel book that he had made about 1185-1188 with his wife, Matilda of England, for the church of Saint Blaise in Brunswick (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2°), illuminated in a manner recalling the reliquaries set on the altar of the Virgin Mary beside it and including multiple depictions of the duke and his consort in miniatures making politically provocative claims, will be a topic of particular scrutiny in this investigation as a comparison with the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter.

With this investigation of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, I seek to shed light on how even the smallest work of art or the least-elaborately-decorated manuscript in a collection can reveal an important glimpse into the private world and personal ambitions of one of the most powerful couples of the twelfth century.

WALTERS ART MUSEUM, MS W. 10: DESCRIPTION

The first thing one notices upon viewing the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter is its diminutive size. The folios measure 12.5 by 7.2 centimeters (4 15/16 by 2 13/16 in.), smaller than most contemporary smartphones (fig. 2). The manuscript is currently bound in red velvet cloth, heavily abraded from handling (fig. 3). Although the original binding is long gone, it was likely made of valuable and high-quality materials befitting a wealthy

ducal patron, such as velvet, silk, leather, gems, pearls, or ivory.[3] One aspect of the psalter's original external appearance remains: the gilt and stamped fore-edges of the folios. A repeating scalloped pattern covers the three gilt edges, giving the text block the appearance of a solid gold block when the volume is closed (fig. 4).

The use of gold continues when the manuscript is opened. The volume begins with a now-incomplete calendar listing the holy days from April to December (fig. 5). Numbers are written in gold leaf inside purple columns lying along the left edge of each folio. Egyptian days and zodiacal notes are written in red ink, while other notes are recorded in brown ink.[4][5]

Major feasts are written in gold, as are the feasts of Modoaldus, Vitus, and Martinus. Each of these saints held an important place in the history of the abbey of Helmarshausen, the duchy of Saxony, and the history of the Welf dynasty. Saint Modoaldus was the patron of the abbey of Helmarshausen, an appropriate addition to a psalter made in the abbey's scriptorium. The relics of Saint Vitus were given to the nearby abbey of Corvey in 836 by Abbot Hilduin of Saint Denis.[6] By the late twelfth century, Vitus had become one of the patron saints of Saxony. While Saint Martin is the

---

[3] The Prayer Book of Charles the Bald (Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, ResMü Schk 4 WL), for example, was decorated with ivory panels carved with scenes from the psalms on each cover. Robert Deshman, "The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald," *Viator* 11 (1980): 404-406.

[4] "Egyptian days" refer to intercalary days, or days inserted into the calendar every few years to make the solar year and calendar years to align. This practice began in Ancient Egypt. Lynley Herbert, PhD., email message to author, February 24th, 2017.

[5] A codicological description of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter can be found in Appendix A: Codicology.

[6] G. Spahr, "Corvey, Abbey of," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 4, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Gale, 2003): 280-281.

patron saint of Weingarten, an abbey in Bavaria instead of Saxony, the church at Weingarten had been built by Duke Welf IV of Bavaria (r. 1070-1101), great-grandfather of Henry the Lion, in 1056 with Martin as its patron.[7] Several generations of the Welf dynasty were buried in the abbey.[8] The scriptorium of Weingarten produced manuscripts for the Welfs well into the reign of Henry the Lion.[9] Aristocratic patrons or patronesses would likely maintain a connection with their dynastic burial site even if they did not always commission manuscripts from the scriptorium at the location.

The calendar is followed by a portrait of the original intended owner facing toward her left with her hands raised in a gesture of devotion. Bounded by a border with a gilt and silver gilt floral motif with faded blue and green ink fill, the *destinatrice* is dressed in opulent, likely ceremonial clothing. A deep-red miniver-lined mantle rests on her shoulders, decorated in a repeating pattern in gold. Underneath her mantle, she wears a white or light-blue robe with wide, gold-trimmed sleeves. A white wimple covers her head, indicating her status as a married woman. She stands upon rugged, possibly dirt ground. The background is gilt as a means of showing off either wealth or a holy context, or likely both.

Sadly, the exact nature of that context will likely never be known to us. The folio it faced is now long missing, possibly the victim of a later owner's search for a small devotional image. The only trace of an opposite page is evident in the stub of the once-

[7] G. Spahr, "Weingarten, Abbey of," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 14, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Gale, 2003): 672.
[8] Mary Dockray-Miller, *The Books and Life of Judith of Flanders* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015): 79.
[9] For example, see *Historia Welforum*, Hessische Landesbibliothek MS D 11, Fulda, late 12th century.

attached bifolio. Today the portrait faces a full-page Beatus initial on gilt ground, indicating the start of the first psalm (fol. 7r) (fig. 6). The psalms are divided in a tri-partite manner, a division popular in Germany.[10] Each division is marked by a full-page devotional image followed by a full-page illuminated initial. A Crucifixion with Mary and Saint John the Evangelist (fig. 7) followed by an initial "Q" marks the fifty-first psalm (fols. 41v-42r), while an image of Christ in Majesty (fig. 8) succeeded by an initial "D" indicates psalm 101 (fols. 77v-78r). Atypically for a tripartite psalter, a smaller, half-page illuminated "D" initial marks the one-hundred-and-ninth psalm (fol. 88v). Leather tabs mark out illuminated folios for the reader. Sewing holes above the illuminations indicate that they were once protected with cloth covers sewn onto the parchment.

The Latin text written in Late Carolingian miniscule covers the folios in single columns with twenty-six ruled lines. The first letter of each verse is decorated with gold and filled with colored ink. The full contents of the manuscript include, in order, a calendar, a liturgical psalter, canticles, hymns, creeds, litany, petitions, collects, and the Minor Office of the Dead.[11][12]

HISTORY OF THE PSALTER

The known history of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter is limited. Based upon artistic, paleographical, and calendrical evidence, the psalter is universally

---

[10] Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982): 225.
[11] "A digital facsimile of Walters MS W. 10, Helmarshausen Psalter," The Walters Art Museum, accessed September 10th, 2016, http://art.thewalters.org/files/pdf/W10.pdf.
[12] To see a codicological description of the psalter, please see Appendix A: Codicology.

considered to be a product of the scriptorium at Helmarshausen abbey, the work of the monk and scribe Herimann who also worked on the Gospels of Henry the Lion. Based upon these traits, along with the similarity in clothing of the figure in the owner portrait to that worn by the figure of the Duchess Matilda in the coronation page of the Gospels of Henry the Lion, the psalter is believed to be a commission of either Duchess Matilda or Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony and Bavaria.

The history of the psalter in the next two centuries is unknown, but an inscription on folio 126v states that the manuscript belonged in the early fifteenth century to Petrus Grillinger, canon of Salzburg (fig. 9).[13] The record remains silent for another four centuries, until the book turns up in the collection of the Gruel-Engelmann bookbinding workshop in Paris in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Its bookplate is visible on the upper pastedown inside the front cover, with the number "136" inscribed. Henry Walters purchased the book, likely from Léon Gruel, and it became a part of the Walters Art Museum's collection in 1931 as an item in Henry Walters' bequest.[14]

STATE OF THE LITERATURE

As previously stated, scholarship on the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter focuses almost entirely on the question of its originally-intended owner, and the identity of the *destinatrice* illustrated on folio 6v remains a topic of debate. In the first and only article dealing exclusively with the psalter, Adolph Goldschmidt proposes Henry the Lion's eldest daughter Gertrude, queen of Denmark, as the psalter's intended owner.

[13] The inscription reads, "Hic liber fuit domini petri Grillinger Magistri Kamere Curie Salzbur[gensis]."
[14] "A digital facsimile of Walters MS W.10".

Goldschmidt bases his argument on the existence of two gospel books made for Lund cathedral from the Helmarshausen scriptorium with similar border decoration motifs to those found in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter.[15]

In a paragraph in *The Art Bulletin* in 1944, Hanns Swarzenski refutes Goldschmidt's thesis. Swarzenski mused that the style of the figures compares more easily with that found in Helmarshausen manuscripts produced near the middle of the century, meaning that the manuscript would have been made for another user some time before Gertrude's 1171 departure for Denmark for her later marriage in 1177.[16] Following Swarzenski's observations, Dorothy E. Miner, in a catalog entry for a 1949 exhibition, proposed Clementia of Zähringen, the first wife of Henry the Lion, as the psalter's original intended owner.[17]

The auction of the Gospels of Henry the Lion at Sotheby's in London in 1983 inspired an outpouring of scholarship on manuscripts commissioned by Henry from Helmarshausen, rekindling the debate over the *destinatrice* of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. That year Martin Gosebruch argued that the owner-portrait depicted neither Gertrude nor Clementia, but Matilda of England, whom Henry married in 1168, after the annulment of his marriage to Clementia in 1162. Gosebruch based his identification on the similarities between the costume worn by the woman in the owner

---

[15] Adolph Goldschmidt, "A German Psalter of the Twelfth Century Written in Helmarshausen," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 1 (1938): 22-23.
[16] Hanns Swarzenski, "Recent Literature, Chiefly Periodical, on the Medieval Minor Arts," *Art Bulletin* 24 (1942): 296.
[17] Dorothy E. Miner, ed., *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1949): 11.

portrait and that worn by the figure of Matilda on the coronation page of the Gospels of Henry the Lion (fol. 171v) (fig. 10). Based upon the similarity in costume, Gosebruch proposes that the psalter and the gospels were made as part of the same commission and thus both likely date to the late 1180s, when the gospels were produced to be donated in 1188 to the church of Saint Blaise in Brunswick.[18]

Elisabeth Klemm, in a 1989 essay, refuted Gosebruch's argument. Comparing the simpler depiction of facial features of the illustrated figures in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter to figures illustrated in the Gospels, Klemm asserts that the psalter exhibits an earlier figural style than the gospels. Klemm agrees with Goldschmidt that the manuscript was likely a wedding gift for Gertrude upon her marriage to the Danish king. As further evidence, Klemm points out the presence of Saint Beda in the psalter's calendar on May 27th; while Beda's feast was celebrated in England and Germany on the 26th of May, in Copenhagen her feast was celebrated on the 27th.[19]

THE ORIGINALLY-INTENDED OWNER: MATILDA PLANTAGENET, DUCHESS OF SAXONY AND BAVARIA

Despite the arguments put forward by Goldschmidt, Swarzenski, Miner, and Klemm, the assertion made by Gosebruch that the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter was made for Matilda Plantagenet I find is the most convincing based upon available evidence. The outfit worn by the figure in the owner portrait is remarkably similar to that

[18] Martin Gosebruch, "Labor Est Herimanni': Zum Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen," *Abhandlungen der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft* 35 (1983): 137.
[19] Elisabeth Klemm, "Helmarshausen und das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen," in *Heinrich des Löwen: Kommentar zum Faksimilie* (Munich: Insel-Verlag, 1989): 70-71.

worn by the figure of Matilda on the coronation page in the Gospels of Henry the Lion for it to be a coincidence. The colors, patterns, and shape of the clothing in each illumination are an exact match for those in the other. It is highly unlikely that this same costume would be painted in an identical manner for two separate manuscripts painted decades apart. It is far more likely that the two manuscripts were made closer in time or even as part of a single commission.

I argue that the difference in style, regarded by Goldschmidt, Miner, Swarzenski, and Klemm as reason enough to consider the psalter as the product of an earlier decade, is the result of the small size of the illuminations themselves. With grand dimensions of 34.2 by 25.5 centimeters, the Gospels of Henry the Lion offered greater space for its illuminators to paint more detailed figures than those in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, which measures just 12.5 by 7.2 centimeters, only a third of the gospel book's size.[20] Despite the psalter's small size, the figures in the psalter's illuminations are painted with a remarkably high level of detail. The folds of the figures' clothing display a remarkable level of sophistication and detail for miniatures of such small scale.

Although Saint Beda is listed in the psalter's calendar on the 27th of May instead of the 26th, it is possible that the proximity of Saxony to the kingdom of Denmark could have influenced the preference for the former date to celebrate the saint in the duchy. In addition, the presence of Saint Oswald, an Anglo-Saxon royal saint, in the calendar on

[20] "Evangeliar Heinrichs d. Löwen (Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2°) — Signaturdokument," Herzog-August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, accessed January 27th, 2016, http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=105-noviss-2f&lang=en.

the 5th of August points toward the English princess Matilda as the identity of the *destinatrice*.

Much of the scholarship around the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter may have centered on the identity of the noblewoman depicted at the start of the psalter text, but the identity of the psalter's originally-intended owner is an important step in the course of an investigation of the manuscript as a whole. The physical condition, textual content, decorative elements, along with the identity of the original owner of a manuscript can help later viewers to investigate the context of its creation. Using the clues provided in the psalter and viewed in comparison with the massive Gospels of Henry the Lion commissioned by the ducal couple likely at the same time, the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter illuminates the personal life of a duchess at a moment of high political tension at the Saxon ducal court.

Chapter 1: Biographical Background

MATILDA PLANTAGENET

Matilda, Duchess of Saxony, was born in June 1156 into the Plantagenet royal house, the most powerful family in Western Europe in the twelfth century. Her parents, King Henry II of England (r. 1154-1189) and Queen Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine, ruled a string of kingdoms, dukedoms, and counties that ran from Hadrian's Wall to the Pyrenees. She is recorded as travelling frequently with her mother, crisscrossing her parents' domains from her earliest days. It appears that Queen Eleanor kept Matilda close at hand, rejoining her widely-dispersed family at festive occasions including Christmas.[21] Although details are scant, it appears that, like her mother, she received an excellent education for a noblewoman of her day, learning to read and possibly write as well as preparing for her future as a royal bride by learning household management skills, conversation, and embroidery.[22]

At the age of nine she was betrothed to Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, in a political alliance. Her younger sister, Eleanor, was promised to a son of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in the same arrangement, but this marriage never came about. For Duke Henry, marriage with the daughter of the powerful king of England was a means to raise his prestige in the Holy Roman Empire and in Europe at large. Likewise, Matilda's marriage offered her father the opportunity to spread his influence into the Empire.

---

[21] Colette Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014): 33-39.
[22] Ibid., 63.

Matilda and Henry wed on February 1st, 1168, in Minden cathedral. Chroniclers describe Matilda as bringing tapestries, gilt furniture, rich clothing, furs, and a palfrey and courser for her personal use with her to Saxony. Matilda's possessions supposedly filled twenty bags and twenty chests and took three ships and thirty-four horses to dispatch to her new home.[23]

In 1172, Henry left Saxony to travel on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land through Byzantium, paid for partially with Matilda's dowry. Remaining behind in Saxony, Matilda was considered at age sixteen to be too young to assume the regency for her spouse. Pregnant with her first child she was placed in the care of Ekbert of Wolfenbüttel and Henry of Lüneburg, *ministeriales* of the court, while Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg served as deputy.[24] Eventually, Matilda would come into her power as duchess, first as the mother of an heir and then as a patroness of courtly literature.[25]

A decade after her husband's departure for the Holy Land, Henry's dispute with Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa resulted in Henry and Matilda's exile from the Empire in 1180. Henry, Matilda, and their children found refuge in the domains of Matilda's father, King Henry of England. The ducal family would travel between Normandy, Anjou, and England, much as Matilda had with her mother in her childhood. Even after Henry was given permission to return to the Empire in 1184, the ducal family remained in the Plantagenet domains until 1185. Their daughter Richenza and youngest

---

[23] Ibid., 69-70.
[24] Karl Jordan, *Henry the Lion: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986): 150.
[25] For information of Matilda's literary patronage, see Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine*, 161-163.

son William remained behind, respectively, for their marriage and education, maintained at their grandfather's expense.[26]

For refusing to join the emperor on crusade, Henry the Lion was exiled from his domains a second time in 1189. This time Matilda remained behind as her husband's regent. Matilda's reign as regent, however, was short-lived. She died on June 28th at the age of only thirty-three and was buried in the church of Saint Blaise in Brunswick.[27]

HENRY THE LION

While biographical information on Matilda is, unfortunately, scant, Henry the Lion's life is far easier to trace through chronicler's accounts and ducal, royal, and imperial charters. Henry was born in either late 1129 or early 1130, likely in Ravensburg, the ancestral castle of the Welf dynasty. He was the son of Henry the Proud, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and Gertrude of Süpplingenburg, daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Lothair III. Henry's father died when he was only ten years old, placing the young duke in a politically precarious position when his father's domains were returned to him by the king of Germany, Conrad III, in 1142. His mother, even after her remarriage to the Duke of Austria, defended her son's realms as regent and co-ruler, but died in 1143 in childbirth, leaving Henry an orphan.[28] From a young age Henry was forced to defend his duchies from pagan Slavs to the north-east, ambitious relations, warring neighbors, and rebellious subjects almost on an annual basis.[29] Henry would find an ally in his cousin the

[26] Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine*, 103-105.
[27] Ibid., 105-106.
[28] Jordan, *Henry the Lion*, 22-25.
[29] Ibid., 23-106.

Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in the early years of his reign. Both bereft of close kin, they began to rely upon each other for political and military support. Frederick would support Henry in putting down insurrection among Henry's nobles, while Henry would participate in several of Frederick's imperial campaigns in Italy.[30]

In 1148 Henry married his first bride, Clementia of Zähringen, daughter of a southern German duke who assisted Henry in his crusade against the pagan Slavs. Her dowry included the lordship of Badenweiler and 500 hides of land, adding to Henry's already considerable patrimony.[31] Clementia served as regent for her husband twice while he was at war, indicating the high value he placed on her political judgement.[32] Unfortunately the only child she bore to reach adulthood was a daughter, Gertrude, born after 1150, leaving Henry in need of a male heir. With the help of the emperor, Henry dissolved his marriage to Clementia in 1162.[33]

In reward for his political and military support, Emperor Frederick secured a new bride for his cousin in the person of Matilda Plantagenet, daughter of King Henry II of England, through negotiations to seek the king's support against Pope Alexander III. The marriage brought Henry great wealth in the form of Matilda's dowry and raised his profile among the rulers of Europe, but it represented a wasted opportunity to seek allies amongst other German princely families.[34]

---

[30] Johnathan R. Lyon, *Princely Brothers and Sisters: The Sibling Bond in German Politics, 1100-1250* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013): 97-103.
[31] Jordan, *Henry the Lion*, 38.
[32] Ibid., 47.
[33] Ibid., 64.
[34] Lyon, *Princely Brothers and Sisters*, 102, 106.

Using Matilda's dowry among other financial resources, Henry embarked on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land by way of the Byzantine Empire in 1172. Upon reaching Constantinople Henry was greeted by the Emperor Manuel Comnenos in a manner "that the Byzantine court generally reserved for kings."[35] The duke was feted in pavilions set up for him and his entourage in the hippodrome, after which the duke and the emperor proceeded to Hagia Sophia for Mass along a route lined with purple carpets and covered in golden canopies. Henry was seated during Mass in an armchair beside the emperor's throne. According to Arnold of Lübeck, Manuel gave Henry so many rich furs and garments that his entire entourage could have been clothed in them.[36] Henry also received relics, reliquaries, and other gifts of gold in Byzantium, including several pieces that would end up in the Guelph Treasury (*Welfenschatz*) at the church of Saint Blaise in Brunswick. On his return from Jerusalem Henry stopped again in Constantinople, where Manuel gave him enough gold, silver, and silk garments to load onto fourteen mules.[37] All these gifts were likely intended as a means of gaining influence in the Holy Roman Empire, either by flattering the cousin of the emperor or seeking to create an ally against Frederick.[38] Whatever the motivation, Henry gained an abundance of Byzantine artworks and relics, adding to the political, religious, and artistic prestige of the duchies of Saxony and Bavaria in Europe.

---

[35] Jordan, *Henry the Lion*, 152.
[36] Ibid., 152.
[37] Patrick M. de Winter, *The Sacral Treasure of the Guelphs* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985): 55-56.
[38] Jordan, *Henry the Lion*, 154. De Winter, *The Sacral Treasure of the Guelphs*, 55-56.

Henry's warm reception in the East continued in Jerusalem where the Latin King Amalric I entertained the ducal party for three days. Henry in turn donated three lamps to the church of the Holy Sepulcher to burn in perpetuity. In addition, he commissioned a mosaic in the Holy Cross Chapel and paid for the chapel gates to be plated with silver. He purchased several relics to bring with him back to Saxony and donated arms and money to the Knights Templar and Hospitallers. On his return trip through Anatolia he was also received by the Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan of Iconium who gave to Henry silk garments, felt tents, horses, camels, leopards, and slaves. It is possible that the legend associating Henry with lions has its origin in this gift.[39]

Henry's close relationship with the emperor began to unravel in 1176 when Henry declined to assist Frederick in another military venture into Italy. The campaign was a failure and upon the emperor's return to Germany he summoned Henry to a meeting at Worms in 1179 to sort out a conflict between the duke and the archbishop of Cologne. Henry refused this summons and declined to attend court later that year in Magdeburg. After refusing a final, private offer by the emperor to negotiate peace for him, Henry found himself stripped of his duchies as well as his other imperial fiefs and declared an outlaw.[40] Henry reacted with warfare against his neighbors who sought to claim his now-forfeit lands. His former ally Frederick commanded the forces against the duke, forcing him to surrender in August 1181 at Lübeck. He retreated to Lüneburg, which remained in Matilda's possession as part of her dower. At the Diet of Erfurt in 1181 Henry made a

[39] Jordan, *Henry the Lion*, 152-153.
[40] Ibid., 103-104.

formal surrender to the emperor and begged for forgiveness. The emperor revoked his status as an outlaw and returned the duchy of Saxony to his possession on the condition that the ducal family leave the empire for a period of three years. Henry, Matilda, and their four children then left Germany for the domains of the king of England.[41]

Henry remained active in exile, where he maintained himself in princely luxury with the financial assistance of his father-in-law. In the autumn of 1182 Henry undertook a pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint James at Compostela, returning to Normandy in time to spend Christmas at Caen with his family. Two years later he would visit the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket at Canterbury. The ducal couple would have a fifth child, William of Winchester, while living with the king in England. After negotiation between King Henry and Pope Lucius III, Emperor Frederick gave permission for Duke Henry and his family to return to Saxony in 1185. Henry and Matilda returned home with three of their sons, but their daughter Richenza and youngest son William remained behind.[42]

Although control of Saxony was returned to Henry, the same tensions remained between Henry and his rivals. When Henry refused to join his cousin on Crusade at the so-called "Diet of Christ" at Mainz in March 1188, the emperor exiled him again for three years. This time, however, Henry was not dispossessed of his domains. Duchess Matilda remained in Brunswick to act as regent for her husband, while Henry returned to the court of his father-in-law in April 1189. Only a few months later, on July 6th, King Henry died while fighting his rebellious sons in France. Henry the Lion would later

---

[41] Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine*, 104.
[42] Jordan, *Henry the Lion*, 181-182.

discover that his own wife had died a few days before her father on June 28th. Ignoring his oath to the emperor, he returned to Saxony where Henry of Staufen, Frederick Barbarossa's son and heir, declared war on the duke.[43]

The conflict between the imperial and ducal parties began to slow after the death of Frederick while on Crusade in June 1190. Although Henry of Staufen, now Emperor Henry VI, still took political and military action against the Welfs, his own precarious political situation and need for support for his attempts in southern Italy to claim the Sicilian throne for his wife encouraged him to finally make peace with Duke Henry in March 1194. The new emperor released Henry's sons Otto and William, both of whom were imperial hostages as guarantee of good intentions upon the release of King Richard the Lionheart since that February. The very next year, Henry the Lion died of dysentery in Brunswick on the 6th of August. He was interred inside the church of Saint Blaise beside Matilda and succeeded by his eldest son, Henry. His second son, Otto, would be elected Holy Roman emperor in 1208 only to be deposed by Frederick II, grandson of Frederick Barbarossa, in 1215. [44]

[43] Ibid., 187-189.
[44] Ibid., 192, 196-198.

Chapter 2: Devotion, Sensory Experience, and Intimacy: The Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter and Its Models

The turbulent lives of Duke Henry and Duchess Matilda make the owner portrait of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter all the more intriguing by association. Although the portrait of the *destinatrice* may form the kernel of scholarly interest in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, it is ultimately as part of a whole that the image holds its power over its viewer. This power derives from a growing emphasis in the twelfth century on spiritual interiority and private devotion, spreading from monastic communities, where members sought to deny the material world, to the laity. Personal psalters were created to serve as a mechanism for this new spirituality. Ironically, these private prayer books, whether psalters or another variety of manuscript, often appealed to the viewer's senses to gain and hold their attention. The Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, as we shall see, was no different.

In scale, format, imagery, and decoration, the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter recalls contemporary miniature devotional manuscripts from the Byzantine Empire as well as earlier private prayer books made for German imperial rulers. I argue that these choices of models reveal the depth of the political ambitions of the ducal couple, which influenced their artistic commissions even to the extent of their choice of manuscript or its decoration meant for the duchess's use in private prayer.

PRIVATE DEVOTION AND THE PSALTER

The popularity of the psalter rose with changes in spirituality that occurred in the eleventh century in the wake of the Gregorian reforms. These reforms, associated with

Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085), placed the appointment of clerical offices firmly in the hands of the church and banned clerical marriage and simony.[45] Complementing this turn away from the material world, eleventh- and twelfth-century theology began to emphasize inwardness and interiority. Whether the worshipper was a monk in an isolated monastery, a preacher in a city, or a lay-person among the riches of the world, spiritual introspection offered a means of combating temptation while bringing oneself closer to God.[46] Pious members of the laity sought to emulate their monastic counterparts, striving for an ideal of spiritual perfection.[47] Clerical rites planned for communal prayer in monastic settings provided pious noblemen and -women with a structure for their own observance. Personal psalters, among other private prayer books, facilitated this religious fulfillment. Operating as handbooks for those laymen and -women who strove to live as closely to the monastic model as possible, the psalter helped worshippers to organize their daily devotional routines. [48]

The place of the psalms, and thus the psalter, were unique in medieval devotion and among devotional manuscripts. The psalms were the single most important section of the Bible for worshippers in the High Middle Ages—monastic, clerical, or lay—and held an important place in the daily liturgy. Although part of the Old Testament, they were understood by medieval Europeans to be emblematic of the life of Christ. This is

[45] Andre Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs*, trans. Margery J. Schneider (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993): 42.
[46] Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 261-269.
[47] Ibid., 7.
[48] Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West* (London: Routledge, 2013): 224-232.

reflected in the imagery of psalter illuminations, which often included paintings of Christ, David, or both figures, sometimes in a direct juxtaposition.[49] Most importantly, the psalms, more than any other book of the Bible, were known to the medieval worshipper in the form of a book.[50] It was the first form of a prayer book made in any great number for the laity instead of the clergy. Before the rise in popularity of the book of hours in the fourteenth century, it was the single manuscript most likely to be owned by lay readers.[51]

Ownership of a personal psalter appealed particularly to women. The public participation of women, both nuns and laywomen, in the rites and rituals of church was looked down upon by the institutional church. As a result, women looked to the succor that private prayer could offer. Cut off from taking part in church ceremony, women looked to private prayer books which, as more than just tools for religious or literary instruction, offered them unmediated access to God through his Word.[52] The psalter was the single book read the most by, and associated with, noblewomen. When describing Hildegard of Bingen's literacy, Albrecht of Stade says that she "learned nothing more than the psalter, as was customary for noble girls."[53] For a medieval woman of noble or royal rank, these personal psalters could operate as talismans of a sort, comforting a homesick young bride in a new context or, in the case of Matilda in the late 1180s, a wife separated from her husband and children.[54]

---

[49] F.O. Büttner, "Die illuminierte Psalter im Westen," in *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose, and Placement of Its Images*, ed. F. O. Büttner. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004): 4.
[50] Theresa Gross-Diaz, "The Latin Psalter," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Vol. 2, *From 600 to 1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 427.
[51] Ibid., 439-441. Roger S. Wieck, "Introduction," in *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, ed. Roger S. Wieck (New York: George Brazillier, Inc., 1988): 28.
[52] Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Books Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* 7 (1982): 752-754.
[53] Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Duckworth, 2000): 340.
[54] Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners," 763.

THE 'PRIVATE' NATURE OF THE BALTIMORE-HELMARSHAUSEN PSALTER

Although the gold leaf lettering, rich illuminations, and likely the binding proclaimed the wealth and status of the psalter's owner, the size of and devotional portrait in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter emphasize the private function of the commission. Appealing to the senses and spirituality of the reader, the psalter presented the owner with a personal outlet for religious devotion. If "the metaphors of the book are metaphors of containment" as the literary scholar Susan Stewart has claimed, then the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter contains no small amount of content for the modern viewer to unlock.[55]

Reading for the medieval man or woman was understood as a primarily sensorial experience. It stimulated the major sensory organs: eyes read over the pages; fingers touched the ink, gilding, and binding or kept one's place in the text; the mouth echoed the words on the page, either out loud or silently to oneself; ears caught the turning of the pages and spoken words.[56] Memory was understood to be created through the senses.[57] Twelfth-century theologians appreciated the sensory nature of reading and tolerated it so long as it encouraged the reader to engage with scripture. This was considered doubly true for a female audience. Women were associated primarily with the senses. Not only were they considered to have a higher faculty for seeing, smelling, and hearing, but they

---

[55] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993): 37.

[56] The scholasticism of the twelfth century universities began to encourage reading silently to better retain information. Most readers outside of the university setting, however, likely at least murmured to themselves when reading alone. Paul Saenger, "Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society," *Viator* 13 (1982): 379-380, 383-385.

[57] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 57.

represented a considerable sensory distraction for men.[58] The containment of women's sensorial capabilities in a spiritual direction through private prayer was thus no small inspiration for the commissioning of illuminated personal prayer books for women throughout the medieval era.[59]

Through its small size, the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter exaggerates what the medieval devotional book already represented. The smaller the manuscript, the more skill required by the scribes, illuminators, and binders to create it. The luxuriousness of the psalter is just as evident in its miniature size as it would be in an oversized manuscript; the perceived 'crudeness' of the illuminations inside are the result of its small scale, not the ability of the artist or year of creation. The material compression of the psalter and its lettering encourage the owner to draw it close to herself and associate it with her own body.[60] Already considered a sensory being by contemporary theology, a female owner would, in theory, be drawn to the miniature psalter and thus into its contents as well.

Once inside the psalter, the original owner would be further intrigued by the representation of her figure after the calendar. The miniature image of a human being, in the words of Susan Stewart, constitutes a "mode of possession" of the person represented.[61] When the image is possessed by the person it is meant to represent, it amounts to a form of self-possession. Devotional portraiture offers the owner not only an

---

[58] Helen Solterer, "Seeing, Hearing, Tasting Woman: Medieval Senses of Reading," *Comparative Literature* 46 (1994): 129-131.
[59] For example, see: Anne Rudloff Stanton, "Turning the Pages: Marginal Narratives and Devotional Practice in Gothic Prayerbooks," in *Push Me, Pull You*. Vol. 1, *Imaginative and Emotional Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, eds. Sarah Blick et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 75-115.
[60] Stewart, *On Longing*, 38-43.
[61] Stewart, *On Longing*, 125.

idealized view of the self, but an idea of the self to emulate and strive for, as well as a means to enter the biblical drama. Whether commissioned by another or a product of one's own patronage, portraits of a manuscript's owner at her devotions deliver an ideological message for the represented individual that is made both palatable and alluring through the replication of her own form.

Physical evidence for this identification may remain on the owner portrait itself. Kathryn Rudy has demonstrated how a reader's interaction with a manuscript can leave physical traces, including stains created from the accumulation of oils from human skin and the abrasion of illustrations resulting from frequent rubbing or kissing. The locations of these stains and abrasions inside a manuscript, according to Rudy, reveal the habits of the book's reader(s): what prayers they favored, which holy figures drew their attention, and what images intrigued them.[62] The unusual wear on the owner portrait of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, particularly the face, appears consistent with the examples illustrated by Rudy (fig. 1). The other illuminations in the psalter have not deteriorated nearly as much as this one. This damage brings up the intriguing possibility that one of the owners in the manuscript's history felt a connection with or fascination for the woman represented. Whether the abrasion was the result of interaction by Matilda, stimulated by identification with her own figure, a descendant of the duchess, longing for contact with his or her deceased ancestor, or a later owner simply captivated by the

[62] See: Kathryn Rudy, "Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2 (2010): 1-44. Despite advances in scientific analysis of manuscripts, we are unable to trace the date of these abrasions, a task made more difficult by the psalter's spotty provenance.

image, the damage is among the most compelling evidence of the power and pull that the portrait, and the psalter, have on the reader.

Beyond the lure of the size and the recognition offered by the owner-portrait, the materials of the psalter encouraged the owner to pull the psalter close. The parchment, made from the skin of calves or goats, highlights the idea of Christ, foretold in the psalms, as the Word-made-flesh.[63] Decorated in gold and silver gilt and bound in precious (if lost) materials, the psalter became a personal reliquary of God's word to be carried on one's person, continuously ruminated over and adored. Although these features were not foreign to larger medieval manuscripts, including the Gospels of Henry the Lion, the small format of the psalter granted the *destinatrice* greater, unrestrained physical interaction with the manuscript. The intimate appeal to the owner's senses along with the portrait of the owner at her devotions inside the manuscript and its customized contents fastened her identification with and sense of ownership of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter.

Ostentatious yet intimate, the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter invites the lay worshipper to delight in the word of God in a highly personal manner. While the materials may proclaim the status of the owner to those who catch a glimpse of it, they also entice the owner to handle her psalter and thus engage in her devotions. Inside the psalter, the contents and imagery create a personalized religious experience for her; her portrait even places her in the biblical drama. Through format, decoration, and content,

[63] Herbert L. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art* (Orchard Park, NY: Broadview Press, 2004): 27, 89.

the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter offers the *destinatrice* a means of engaging in the interior-oriented spirituality of the twelfth century.

MINIATURE BYZANTINE MANUSCRIPTS

Small-scale prayer books were produced contemporaneously to the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter in the eastern Mediterranean. By the time of Henry the Lion's pilgrimage through Byzantium to the Holy Land, a unique genre of miniature manuscripts had been produced for both lay and monastic audiences, spreading outward from Constantinople to the provinces for nearly two centuries. Typically measuring under 12 by 9 centimeters, these manuscripts form a class unto themselves.[64] It is possible that their extremely small size inspired the diminutive format of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter.

Other than their diminutive size, these Byzantine manuscripts share little besides their rich materials. As often undecorated as they are illuminated, the more elaborate manuscripts are decorated with imagery that deviates little from their larger counterparts. In gospel books, for example, full-paged pictures of the evangelists at the start of their respective gospels are just as evident in miniature gospels, such as the late eleventh-century gospels measuring 10.7 by 8.7 centimeters in the Walters Art Museum (MS W. 522) (fig. 11), as they are in larger gospels, such as Walters MS W. 527 (fig. 12), measuring 20 by 15 centimeters. Much as in the case of Western manuscripts, images from the gospel story are found illustrating texts from the Old Testament, such as the

[64] Annemarie W. Carr, "Diminutive Byzantine Manuscripts," *Codices Manuscripti* 6 (1980): 133.

psalms, as often as they are in books of the New Testament.[65] In manuscripts that were illuminated, frontispiece illustrations depicting "overtly devotional" themes, including the Virgin and Child, the Deesis, and saints, became more common in diminutive psalters of the late eleventh century.[66]

It is worth noting the preeminence of psalters among these small manuscripts. A preponderance of manuscripts measuring 24 cm in height or less among surviving Byzantine psalters in general is also worthy of note.[67] Along with the gospels and the *Praxapostolos* (a collection of writings from the Acts of the Apostles), the psalter was among the most recommended books for private prayer in Byzantine religious history. Much as in the West, it was seen as a "handbook for devotion."[68] Their small size complemented their function facilitating personal prayer. The spread in their production from the imperial capital to the provinces indicates the role of private commissions in their creation, even if in emulation of an imperial model.[69]

The similarity between the illumination program of these Byzantine psalters and the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter—sparsely illustrated with scenes from the life of Christ and a devotional frontispiece—brings up the possibility that such an eastern manuscript served as an inspiration for the volume commissioned for Duchess Matilda. Although historical records do not indicate whether Henry was given a miniature manuscript, let alone any manuscript, as a gift from either Byzantine Emperor Manuel

---

[65] Ibid., 130-134.
[66] Ibid., 136.
[67] John Lowden, "Observations on Illustrated Byzantine Psalters," *The Art Bulletin* 70 (1988): 245.
[68] Carr, "Diminutive Byzantine Manuscripts," 134.
[69] Ibid., 135-136.

Comnenos or the king of Jerusalem during his pilgrimage, it is not outside of the realm of possibility that textual evidence for such a gift has been lost over time or that he observed such a manuscript while abroad. Perhaps, seeking a prestige akin to that of the Byzantine emperor, Henry or his wife sought to emulate the prayer habits of the Byzantine elite through the commission of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. At a time when Henry was once again locking heads with the Holy Roman emperor, the creation of Matilda's psalter on the scale of an aristocratic Byzantine manuscript would have been an act of defiance and independence. While the size, content, and materials brought spiritual comfort to the duchess, the viewer of the closed book could have read this manuscript as a statement of imperial pretension.

GERMAN IMPERIAL PRECURSORS

Small-scale personal prayer books for secular figures in Western Europe were not unheard of before the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter and were not exclusive to the eastern Mediterranean. Prominent examples had been made for Carolingian and Ottonian emperors. These manuscripts are similar in format and decoration to the psalter, including examples of devotional portraiture. Although not as small as the later Welf manuscript, they are another likely exemplar known to and used by the designers and creators of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter.

One early example is the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald (Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, ResMü Schk 4 WL) made for the grandson of Charlemagne between 846 and 869. At 13.7 by 10.2 centimeters, the prayer book is unusually small for

a Carolingian imperial commission.[70] In comparison, the Saint Emmeram Codex (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14000), made in 879 for the same emperor, measures 42 by 33 centimeters. Despite the prayer book's small size, the covers were decorated with ivory panels depicting psalms 24 and 26, both of which are devotional in content (fig. 13). David is depicted reaching up to Christ in supplication on both ivories. On the ivory illustrating psalm 26, Christ stands in his temple where David is protected from his foes who fill the space below. The second plaque, representing psalm 24, depicts David surrounded by armed enemies as well as supporters holding scrolls, representing God's covenant offered to David.[71] Both ivory cover plaques offer Charles the image of a pious king protected from his enemies through his loyalty to Christ. As well as presenting an Old Testament exemplar for Charles to identify with, the ivories signal the contents and purpose of the prayer book contained between them. The ivory material, in addition, evokes flesh and bone and recalls association with Roman emperors, who made extensive use of the medium for luxury items. As is the case in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, the materials evoke relics and reliquaries, highlighting the prayer book's priceless nature as well as inviting touch and further exploration of the object.[72]

The program of illumination inside the emperor's prayer book, much like the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, is limited, in this case to a two-page devotional image of the crowned emperor in proskynesis before Christ on the cross.[73] Imitation pearl and

---

[70] Robert Deshman, "The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald," *Viator* 11 (1980): 397.
[71] Ibid., 404-406.
[72] Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art*, 27.

enamel inlay are illustrated in the painted frames surrounding the two images, giving the scene an additional precious quality. It is quite possible that the frames echo the decoration of the original covers surrounding the ivory plaques, creating unity inside and outside the manuscript, underscoring the precious nature of the prayer book, and engaging the reader's senses in a spiritual direction.

Another personal prayer book combining small scale, material appeals to the senses, and personal devotional imagery is the Prayer Book of Otto III (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30111) made for the young Holy Roman emperor between 983 and 991. Like the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald and the Helmarshausen Psalter, the Prayer Book of Otto III is unusually small. It measures 15 by 12 centimeters, making it only slightly larger than the Carolingian prayer book. Lavishly illuminated on purple parchment, this prayer book makes a grander statement of imperial status through the decoration of the text alone than the illustrations in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald. The vivid color of the purple pages must have awed the original owner with its richness and rarity, inspiring further devotion through curious exploration of the manuscript. Five completed miniatures remain, four of which are arranged in sets of two facing images.[74] Otto III himself is depicted in each set and in the last, solitary miniature.[75] Although the original covers are long missing, it was surely bound in

---

[74] The folios of the manuscript have been re-bound and re-ordered over the centuries, making it difficult to draw any conclusions about the placement of the images.

[75] Sarah Hamilton, "'Most Illustrious King of Kings': Evidence for Ottonian Kingship in the Otto III Prayerbook (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30111)," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 262.

precious materials, appealing to the owner's senses while underscoring the importance of the contents.

Despite the differences in style and circumstances of creation, the two prayer books reveal similar personal spiritual concerns related to the original intended owners' status as rulers. These same anxieties are evident in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. Prepared after a long exile from her husband's domains, Matilda's psalter gave comfort to a ducal consort as the ducal couples' status in the Holy Roman Empire came into question for a second time. At the same moment, she and her spouse made increasing numbers of statements through artistic patronage proclaiming their legitimacy by virtue of their connections to early imperial rulers, including the so-called Coronation Portrait of the Gospels of Henry the Lion. Although the histories of the prayer books of Charles the Bald and Otto III are unknown before, respectively, the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, it is not outside of the realm of possibility that these or other examples of imperial prayer books were available for either Henry, Matilda, or the workers of the Helmarshausen scriptorium to view. The small scale of Matilda's psalter not only offered her an intimate prayer book format for personal devotions but another means to tie herself to her imperial German predecessors through the similarity of scale and decoration to Carolingian and Ottonian prayer books.

CONCLUSION

Despite the distance of space and time between the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter's exemplars and the scriptorium at the abbey of Helmarshausen, the miniature scale of the diminutive devotional manuscripts from Byzantium and the devotional

imagery and decoration of earlier German imperial prayer books created a compelling model for the personal psalter of the Duchess of Saxony and Bavaria. A statement of the continuity of imperial power, her psalter made a politically disruptive and defiant statement at the moment when Henry was once again forced to leave his domains after butting heads with the German emperor.

In seemingly direct contrast with this political statement is the intimate nature of the manuscript itself. Small and exquisite, the psalter's decoration recalls a treasured reliquary whose diminutive size and sensual appeal encouraged the owner to keep it close to her person. In this it might be compared to pendant reliquaries like the so-called "Talisman of Charlemagne," now in the cathedral at Reims. The presence of the owner's portrait inside the manuscript doubled its appeal, encouraging the owner to identify herself with the psalter.

The intimate nature of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter and its politically-tinged choice of models, though it now seems an odd combination on the surface, would not have contradicted each other in a mediaeval context. Devotion encouraged worshippers to look inside themselves, but a noble layman or -woman would pray with a personal prayer book during public services as often as he or she would pray alone. Ostentatious decoration glorified the worshipper who commissioned a manuscript just as it honored the God it praised in its written words. The contradictions between public and private, interiority and display, and personal and political found in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter would continue in later personal prayer books throughout the European Middle Ages, including books of hours. In the artistic commissions of Henry

the Lion and Matilda oriented toward a public audience, however, different tensions would emerge.

Chapter 3: Portraiture in Manuscripts: Donors, Supplicants, and Owners and the Place of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter

While the small size and precious materials of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter encouraged the originally-intended owner to draw the manuscript closer toward herself, the portrait of the *destinatrice* before the opening of the psalms allowed this woman to identify herself more intimately with the psalter. The portrait inside the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter evolved from nearly a millennium of portraiture, first of donors offering up objects and architecture to gain favor with holy figures and then to owner portraiture. These owner portraits still operated within the supplicant model of their predecessors, however, if free of the portrayal of actual donations. Although the figure of the owner recalls earlier owner portraits, both in manuscripts and other media, the influence of contemporary Byzantine portraiture, as well as the growing interest in interiority in twelfth-century theology, is reflected in the psalter's owner portrait. These evolving spiritual emphases would lead in the next century to the formation of the reflexive owner portrait found in personal psalter-hours and books of hours depicting the originally-intended owner at prayer, reflecting how he or she is theoretically meant to use the manuscript as well as the visionary result of such actions.[76]

DONOR-SUPPLICANTS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION

The earliest images of contemporary figures, persons alive at the time of creation, in manuscripts took the form of donors. In these portraits, figures in a pose or position of

[76] Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014): 1-3.

deference offer up a book or miniature model of the structure or object commissioned to another figure of higher spiritual or political rank. Though these portraits are meant to record the dedication of an object or building in honor of another, they memorialize the donor as well. This model of portraiture can be traced back to antiquity.[77] The dedicatory portrait of Bishop Ecclesius in the apse mosaic from about 540-547 in the basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna is one prominent early example (fig. 14). Ecclesius and Saint Vitalis of Milan, the patron saint of the church, flank an enthroned Christ dressed in imperial purple, the bishop to Christ's left and the martyr to his right. While Christ offers Vitalis a bejeweled martyr's crown through an angelic attendant, Ecclesius offers Christ a model of the basilica of San Vitale itself. The mosaic was commissioned by the bishop to commemorate his construction of the cathedral. By including the figure of Vitalis, he relates his patronage of the basilica to the sacrifice of the early Christian martyrs. Ecclesius associates himself with both Christ and Saint Vitalis in public memory for posterity.

This formula made its way to the Latin-influenced regions of northern Europe. In the Hillinius Codex from ca. 1020 (Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Dom Hs. 12), for example, the dedication page depicts the Cologne cathedral canon Hillinius handing the codex to Saint Peter (fol. 16v) (fig. 15). Cologne cathedral itself was dedicated to Saint Peter and the Virgin Mary.[78] Peter is seated on a

[77] Ibid., 88.
[78] *Oxford Art Online*, s.v. "Cologne," by Peter Noelke et al., accessed April 11th, 2017, http://www.oxfordartonline.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T018654.

high throne atop a platform, denoting his higher rank in relation to the canon. The canon's gestures and position accentuate his lower station. Standing on lower ground, he leans forward, underlining his deference. Through his position and body language, Hillinius becomes a spiritual vassal of Saint Peter, establishing a connection between the canon and the saint for those viewing the dedicatory image in the codex.

In some cases, the mechanics of the codex format combines with the design of the donor image to create a dynamic donor portrait. The donor portrait in the Gospels of Henry II (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc Bibl 95, fols. 7v and 8r) (fig. 16) takes the form of a two-page diptych, much like the owner portrait in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. Henry II is depicted in imperial regalia on the left, while the Virgin Mary stands on the right. Each figure stands under a classicizing arch inscribed with an identifying label. Henry holds the gospel book in his hands, offering it toward the Virgin. The Virgin herself reaches toward the gospel book to receive it. Although no direct physical contact is depicted between the emperor and the Virgin when the book is in a static, open position, the Virgin's hands make contact with the portrayed gospel book as the actual book it is opened or closed. Not only is the act of donation memorialized in this portrait, but the very gesture of donation is reenacted with every opening and closing of the codex.[79] The similarity in design between the donor portrait in the Gospels of Henry II and the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter opens the possibility of the later

[79] Ibid., 98-99.

manuscript having a similar dynamic function, but the loss of the right half of the diptych portrait leaves this hypothesis in the realm of conjecture.

At the heart of the donor portrait is the concept of the donor as supplicant. Whether a figure holds an item in his or her hands to give to a holy figure, as in the cases of the bishop Ecclesius and Henry II, or simply bows the head in reverence, the individuals represented in these portraits entreat God, the Virgin, or the saints to act on their behalf and effect their eternal salvation. Represented in public spaces, including church frescoes, mosaics, and facades, or in large manuscripts given to public or semi-public foundations such as churches or monasteries, these portraits plead for viewers to pray on the behalf of the represented individuals. Donor portraits, as a result, can be considered a sub-category of a "supplicant" portrait as proposed by Linda Safran.[80] It is from this tradition that early owner portraits, including the portrait of the *destinatrice* in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, evolved into a private, more intimate form.

A few close predecessors to the Baltimore portrait are evident among the earlier supplicant tradition, including the two early imperial prayer books mentioned in the previous chapter. The Prayer Book of Charles the Bald contains an early example of supplicant portraiture blurring the boundary between commemorative and devotional purposes. Aside from historiated initials marking the start of different sections of text, only two illuminations are present in the entire book: a two-page spread of the crowned emperor in proskynesis (prostration) (fol. 38v) before Christ on the cross (fol. 39r) (fig.

[80] Linda Safran, "Deconstructing 'Donors' in Medieval Southern Italy," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 60/61 (2011/2012): 135-151.

17). Like the *destinatrice* in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, Charles is separated from the object of his devotion both literally and figuratively.

Unlike the owner portrait in the later psalter, however, Charles is prostrate before the Crucifixion. Charle's gesture expresses his humility and submission while praying for his salvation to Christ, who through his Passion depicted in the opposite illumination made salvation possible for mankind.[81] Charle's garb, on the other hand, boldly states his imperial status. Wearing a gilt and pearl-studded crown and draped with a purple-dyed chlamys with a gold and pearl-trimmed border, Charle's figure is impossible to confuse with that of a more humble supplicant. Although a depiction of Charles with a crown upon his head in the presence of Christ may appear a blasphemous lack of respect, in this miniature the presence of the royal regalia tied the emperor and the Savior through the polarities of humiliation and majesty evident in each half of the image. Charles prostrates himself in the dirt before Christ while wearing imperial regalia and Christ suffers on the cross while a heavenly hand extends down to place a crown upon his head. Christ's royal triumph over evil is equated to Charle's imperial triumph through the exercise of his office.[82] This is thus a ruler portrait as much as it is a supplicant portrait; there is a secondary purpose to this image beyond personal devotion.

The Prayer Book of Otto III also contains examples of supplicant portraiture. Five completed miniatures remain, four of which are arranged in sets of two facing images.

---

[81] Robert Deshman, "The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald," *Viator* 11 (1980): 388-394.
[82] Ibid., 399-402.

Otto III is depicted in three of the five miniatures, underlining his status as the originally-intended owner of the manuscript.[83] The first pair of illuminations (fig. 18) depicts Christ on the cross, with Mary and John the Evangelist below weeping over Christ's agony (fol. 1v). The opposite page is divided into two registers. On the top, Christ stands between Mary and John the Baptist on a blue background—the only page in the manuscript without a completely purple background—designating a heavenly or otherwise otherworldly context for this scene (fol. 2r). Otto stands uncrowned below in the lower register, flanked by Peter and Paul. Otto is depicted as a mere mortal instead of as an emperor, beneath Christ in both majesty and dignity. Surrounded by the patron saints of the city of Rome, Otto is associated with the city of his coronation. According to Sarah Hamilton, Willigis, Archbishop of Mainz, gave the manuscript to Otto in order to indoctrinate the young ruler into the ecclesiastic's expected ideas of imperial behavior. It is not impossible that humility in relation to the Church was one of these ideas.[84] Like the *destinatrice* in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, Otto interacts with holy figures on the same plane. In the Prayer Book of Otto III, however, the figure of Otto is not divided from Saints Peter and Paul; in fact, he is of the same scale as they are.

The next pair of illuminations (fig. 19) portrays Otto in proskynesis in front of a building with an open door in which an attendant stands (fol. 20v). As in the previous illumination, Otto's appearance gives no indication of his imperial rank, although the

[83] Sarah Hamilton, "'Most Illustrious King of Kings': Evidence for Ottonian Kingship in the Otto III Prayerbook (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30111)," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 262.
[84] Ibid., 262-268

presence of the attendant standing just inside the door of a grand building implies that the devotee is no common worshipper. Christ in Majesty flanked by two angels is illustrated on the opposite page (fol. 21r). The pair of images further underscores Otto's humility before Christ.

The last image in the manuscript depicts Otto one last time, but in this case his imperial rank is made explicit. Seated on a jewel-encrusted throne, Otto wears the imperial crown upon his head and a purple and gold chlamys on his shoulders (fol. 43v) (fig. 20). A monk, drawn on a smaller scale than the emperor, holds a bejeweled book, likely the very prayer book in which the image is depicted, for which the emperor reaches. Although this is not a devotional image, it is an important means of reconfirming the emperor's power and status that was minimalized in the previous two portraits of Otto. Unlike the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald, in which the owner's status is made explicit in the owner portrait, a separate ruler portrait was added to the Prayer Book of Otto III to make his imperial station perfectly clear. All three portraits in Otto's prayer book, however, contained allusions to his rank or even outright political messages from the manuscript's patron. The program of portraiture, then, like the solitary portrait of Charles the Bald in his prayer book, holds a regnal as well as a supplicatory function.

The patrons and illuminators of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter not only had access to examples of supplicant portraiture from the Carolingian and Ottonian past, however, to look to for the manuscript's owner portrait. By the time of Matilda's marriage to Henry the Lion, a gospel book commissioned by Judith of Flanders (1030/35-1095), wife of Welf IV of Bavaria, for her own use was in the library of the ancestral

foundation of Weingarten Abbey. During her previous marriage to Tostig Godwinson, Earl of Northumbria, she commissioned four gospel books in the so-called 'Winchester' style of illumination. Currently held in the Morgan Library and Museum, Morgan MS M. 709 was one of these manuscripts, made in southern England around 1065, the same year that she and Tostig were exiled to the Continent.[85] According to Jane Rosenthal and Patrick McGurk, its unique contents suggest that it was made for use in Judith's private chapel.[86]

Measuring 29.3 by 19.1 centimeters, Morgan M. 709 is larger than the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, but still considerably smaller than the later Gospels of Henry the Lion commissioned by Judith's great-grandson (34.2 by 25.5 cm). In the introductory image (fol. 1v) (fig. 21), Judith is not only depicted in supplication to Christ on the cross, but participating in the holy drama of the Crucifixion. Judith kneels on Golgotha, her arms wrapped around the cross itself. Like the later image of Matilda in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, she is depicted without the accoutrements of her ducal status. Crownless and halo-less, she is a humble supplicant, flanked by the out-sized figures of Mary and John the Evangelist on either side of the cross. Although Judith is depicted with the proper humility appropriate to a mere mortal, her head covering and the gilt trimming of her gown visually echo the clothing of the Virgin, associating Judith with the Mother of God. Mary holds a book just as Judith would have held this gospel book, while John

[85] Patrick McGurk and Jane Rosenthal, "The Anglo-Saxon Gospelbooks of Judith, Countess of Flanders: Their Text, Make-up and Function," *Anglo-Saxon England* 24 (1995): 252.
[86] Ibid., 274.

the Evangelist writes in one. In medieval thought, Christ was thought of as the embodiment of the written Word. While Mary creates the Word through the birth of Christ and John creates the Word by recording the gospels, Judith replicates the Word through the commission of this very gospel book. Judith's devotion to the cross is compounded through the symbolism of the image. It is no coincidence that Judith would later gain fame for her donation of a relic of the Holy Blood to Weingarten, where she would also donate this gospel book.[87]

Judith's supplicant portrait in her gospel book offers another model for a personal devotional portrait for Matilda's psalter. She is not depicted as the consort of a ruler, as would happen in the Gospels of Henry the Lion, but as an individual in a personal relationship with a holy figure. The key difference between the image of Judith in her gospel book and the portrait of Matilda in her psalter, however, is that the former was conceived to be in public view, first in a Northumbrian ducal chapel and then as a later donation to a monastic foundation, Weingarten Abbey. Judith's portrait was ultimately a public image meant to encourage respect for the duchess as a devout noblewoman and attract prayers for her soul after her death.

An earlier psalter made for Duke Henry and Duchess Matilda followed the earlier supplicant model as well. Likely made in the 1170s, the so-called Psalter of Henry the Lion (London, British Library, Lansdowne 381) contains an illumination of the crucifixion that includes bust-length portraits of the duke and duchess (fol. 12v) (fig.

[87] Mary Dockray-Miller, *The Books and Life of Judith of Flanders* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015): 54, 91-103.

22).[88] Positioned below the foot of the cross in a separate architectural chamber from the holy scene above, Henry and Matilda gaze up at Christ, holding in their hands banners that unfurl up toward the cross. Their scrolls, like their prayers written on them, were a means of communication between the worldly and the divine. Much like the architectural model held by the bishop Ecclesius and the gospel book offered by Emperor Henry II in their earlier donor portraits, the very words of the ducal couple were offered up in donation to Christ. The relationship is ultimately one of deference underscored by Henry and Matilda's placement below the figures of Christ, Mary, and Saint John. Though the small scale (21 x 13 cm) manuscript was meant for the personal use of one or both members of the ducal couple, the portrait of the owners followed the donor/supplicant model, giving the illumination a dedicatory and commemorative purpose.

It is possible that, in anticipation of the couple's separation during Henry's second exile, the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter was commissioned as a replacement for Matilda while Henry took the earlier, shared psalter with him abroad. This, of course, would explain the decision to depict the duchess alone in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter's owner portrait, while both the duke and duchess are illustrated in the owner

---

[88] The calendar includes the feast of Saint Thomas Becket, who was murdered in 1170. Janet Backhouse, "D 93, Psalter Heinrich der Löwen," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235*. Vol. 1, *Katalog*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1995): 296. The psalter exists today in an abridged form consisting of eleven surviving folios including a calendar and four full-page miniatures bound at the front of a fourteenth-century Breviary in English and Anglo-Norman French. Its earliest recorded location after the death of Henry places it in the collection of William Petty (1737- 1805), Second Earl of Shelburne and First Marquess of Lansdowne on the occasion of its posthumous donation to the British Museum in 1807. This leaves few clues to posterity to discover exactly when the psalter arrived in England. "Detailed Record for Lansdowne 381," The British Library, accessed March 2nd, 2017, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7892&CollID=15&NStart=381.

portrait of the Psalter of Henry the Lion. Most importantly, however, it would indicate not only the importance of private prayer in the lives of the ducal couple, but a rapid change in the iconography of owner portraits in personal prayer books of the Saxon ducal milieu between 1170 and 1188.[89]

The four mentioned manuscripts—the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald, the Prayer Book of Otto III, the Morgan Gospels of Judith of Flanders, and the Psalter of Henry the Lion—contain intimate supplicant portraits of their original intended owners whose imagery or format reveal purposes secondary to personal prayer. The emphasis on imperial regalia and status in the prayer books of Charles and Otto place these portraits just as firmly in the tradition of princely portraiture as they are in the tradition of supplicant imagery; personal propaganda was as evident in these portraits as prayer. Much the same could be said for the portraits of Judith in her gospel book and Henry and Matilda in their psalter. Although Judith's portrait is free of the regalia of ducal rank, it was a public image, concretely associating her with the holy Passion and offering her the status as a pseudo-supplicant for the viewer. Henry and Judith's portraits allude to the more ancient donor portrait model, offering up prayer as gifts to Christ and commemorating the 'donation' for eternity. Although the intimacy of pose and/or scale in

[89] The use of Byzantine-derived iconography in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter's owner portrait not only helps to date the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter after Henry's return from the eastern Mediterranean, but it possibly helps to date the Psalter of Henry the Lion as well. While the composition of the owner portrait in the London psalter closely followed the precedent of northern European supplicant portraiture, the configuration of the later psalter's portrait of its *destinatrice* reflects Henry's familiarity with Byzantine art gained during his visit to Byzantium in 1172. The change in iconography between the creation of the Psalter of Henry the Lion and the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter raises the possibility that the London psalter was made before this trip, dating the psalter between 1170 and 1172. For more on the use of Byzantine iconography in owner portrait of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, see the section of this chapter entitled "The Baltimore-Helmarshausen Portrait: Hints of a Step Forward."

these portraits sets up models for Matilda's portrait, the owner portrait in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter took one step closer toward late medieval reflexive book-owner imagery than its predecessors.

THE BALTIMORE-HELMARSHAUSEN PORTRAIT: HINTS OF A STEP FORWARD

The portrait of the Duchess Matilda in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter recalls earlier supplicant portraiture found in manuscripts as far back as the Carolingian period. In the psalter, however, the portrait neither focuses on the status of the owner nor is oriented toward an intended public audience. The woman depicted is, indeed, a duchess, but only the richness of her clothing gives the viewer any clue. Moving away from the roots of the owner portrait in the genre of the donor portrait, the Baltimore owner portrait is an image of the *destinatrice* in a gesture of prayer. While the format emulates earlier imperial and ducal portraiture, the content and form pave the way for the later reflexive portraits seen in the psalter-hours and books of hours of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

As previously mentioned, Matilda wears no sign of her ducal status in her portrait (fig. 1). She is, of course, well-dressed, even wearing an outfit that directly matches that of her figure in the coronation page of the Gospels of Henry the Lion (fol. 171v) (fig. 10), wimple, cloak, gown and all. The choice of garments worn by figure of the *destinatrice*, however, likely reflects the duke's experiences with Byzantine art. The duchess's mantel matches descriptions of the mantels of contemporary Byzantine women. The inventory of Kale Pakouriane, wife of a court official, describes red mantles trimmed with pearls or

embroidered in gold thread.[90] It is possible that the mantel illustrated in the psalter's owner portrait refers to a Byzantine textile, either brought back from the eastern Mediterranean as a gift or already present at the Welf court through trade or a political gift exchange. The choice to depict the figure of the duchess in what was at least a Byzantine-style mantel associates the duchess, and thus the Welfs, with imperial rule, making a bold statement of power at time of increasing tensions between Duke Henry and the Emperor Frederick.

What is conspicuously absent, however, is her ducal crown. She is a worshipper before a now-missing holy figure, a mortal in devotion before an adored personage or scene. She stands not as Matilda, Duchess of Saxony and Bavaria, but as Matilda, Christian woman. Created in a theological environment increasingly focused on spiritual interiority, the owner portrait in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter reflects a turn toward the individual soul through prayer. The portrait represents an idealized view of the duchess, in this case, in direct communication with the holy figure opposite. The portrait set before Matilda's eyes creates a vision of herself to strive for through prayer guided by the texts that follow.

The posture and gesture of the figure in the owner portrait of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter reflects the influence of Byzantine art. Matilda raises her hands and turns to her left, mirroring the Virgin Mary's gesture of supplication in eastern Christian depictions of the Deesis. In a traditional Deesis composition, Christ is flanked

[90] Maria G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography* (Leiden: Brill, 2003):73.

by the standing Virgin and Saint John the Baptist, who lean toward Christ with their hands raised before them, palms inward.[91] Variations on this central theme abounded in Byzantine art. Contemporary figures from emperors to clergymen or bureaucrats were depicted 'interceding' with Christ, or a different holy figure in his place, such as the Virgin Mary. Sometimes the contemporary figure even takes the position of Christ. In an eleventh-century manuscript of the Homilies of Saint John Chrysostom (Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, Coislin MS 79), the Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates stands between John Chrysostom and the Archangel Michael (fol. 2v) (fig. 23). Michael intercedes for the kneeling, undersized figure at the emperor's feet, likely the artist or patron of the manuscript. In a reversal of donor portrait imagery, John Chrysostom leans forward to hand a copy of the manuscript to the emperor. Not only is the emperor crowned, but his head is enveloped by a halo. These 'imperial' icon portraits highlight the semi-sacral position of the emperor in Byzantine Christianity.[92]

The portrait of the *destinatrice* in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter may not make as aggrandizing a statement as the ruler portrait in the earlier Byzantine Homilies, but it still makes a claim for an intercessory relationship between the duchess and the unknown holy figure originally located opposite. In this case, however, the duchess advocates on her own behalf instead of for another. The power and efficacy of Matilda's prayer is established and underscored by the iconographic arrangement. Matilda steps

[91] Leslie Ross, *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), s.v. "Deesis."
[92] Katherine Marsengill, *Portraits and Icons: Between Reality and Spirituality in Byzantine Art* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013): 209-212.

into a position more often occupied by the Virgin Mary, positioning the mother of God as a model for both prayer and regnal behavior for the duchess viewing the miniature. Through this association, the power of the duchess is linked to the power of the Virgin.

Placing living devotees in the positions of holy figures in manuscript illumination was nothing new by the 1180s. A mid-twelfth century copy of Saint Anselm's Prayers and Meditations (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.6), for example, contains the portrait of a female supplicant in the role of Mary Magdalene (fol. 156r) (fig. 24). Kneeling at the foot of Christ, she raises her hands in supplication toward him, while Christ reacts by leaning away from her with an instructive gesture in the topos of *Noli me tangere*. Like the Magdalene, she beseeches her Lord whom she cannot touch but can only see. Their division is accentuated by the composition. Christ stands in a mandorla which, along with a tree to his right establishing the garden setting, separates him from the woman.[93] The nun is associated through iconography with Mary Magdalene, the repentant sinner turned favored follower of Christ and model for women in the medieval secular world.[94] The iconographic modeling of Matilda after the Virgin Mary served a similar purpose.

Without the missing opposite page, it is impossible to be completely sure of the role that the figure of Matilda in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter was meant to play. The brown, hilly ground suggests that the two images were connected with a shared

[93] Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-representation in Medieval Art*, 120-122.
[94] Magdalena Elizabeth Carrasco, "The Imagery of the Magdalen in Christina of Markyate's Psalter (St. Alban's Psalter)" *Gesta* 38 (1999): 72.

setting, if divided by borders. The hills may suggest Golgotha, with the Crucifixion facing opposite, but the presence of another painting of the Crucifixion later in the psalter would make this choice of imagery unusual, if not unlikely. Rocky ground can be found in twelfth-century images of the Nativity, but I know of no depiction of the Nativity from the twelfth century or before that included a contemporary individual. So this subject is not impossible but also not likely. The placement and gesture of the figure of the duchess on the left hand side of a composition with her hands raised in supplication would, however, recall the Deesis composition for a member of the visually literate elite.

Whoever or whatever faced the owner portrait on the lost page, Matilda's pose indicates the influence of Byzantine art in Germany that existed as early as the reign of Charlemagne continued to remain strong as late as the second half of the twelfth century. Henry's travels through the eastern Mediterranean introduced him to contemporary Byzantine art in a wide variety of media. [95] It is not impossible that he also witnessed depictions of contemporary figures put in the place of holy figures in Byzantine art. Although variations on the Deesis are evident in western European art since at least the Ottonian period, it is likely that Henry's direct observation of such imagery in Byzantium was as great an impetus for the use of the composition for the Baltimore owner portrait as were earlier Byzantine-derived works of western art.[96] These experiences influenced his or his wife's choice of a Byzantine composition for Matilda's portrait in her personal

[95] Patrick M. de Winter, *The Sacral Treasure of the Guelphs* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985): 55-56.
[96] Sean Gilsdorf, "Deesis Deconstructed: Imagining Intercession in the Medieval West," *Viator* 43 (2012): 131-174. C.R. Dodwell, *Painting in Europe, 800 to 1200* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1971): 164-166.

psalter. Like the Byzantine-style mantel over her figure's shoulders, the use of a Deesis composition in the owner portrait of the Baltimore Helmarshausen Psalter recalls Byzantine imperial art and portraiture and evokes the semi-sacral position of the emperor in eastern society.

A secular figure acting as intercessor on her own behalf, the *destinatrice* as depicted in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter becomes more than a supplicant; she functions as an actor with power in the realm of prayer. By following the Byzantine artistic formula of the Deesis, the patron—be it Matilda, Henry, or both—grants the figure of the duchess a spiritual-political prestige without resorting to a direct reference to her ducal status. The overt emphasis thus remains upon the personal and the spiritual. At the moment of the commission, when tensions rose once more between the duke and the emperor, this portrait and the psalter that contains it offered Matilda comfort and reassurance. Similar stimuli to offer comfort and reassurance for noble, secular women would lead to the formation of reflexive owner portraiture seen in later psalter-hours and books of hours, where faith and politics would continually collide and coalesce.[97]

CONCLUSION

The portrait of Matilda in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter may be incomplete, but enough clues remain to gain insight into the artistic lineage and theological context of its creation. The format recalls earlier donor or supplicant

[97] For example, see Tracy Chapman Hamilton, "Queenship and Kinship in the French *Bible moralisée*: The Example of Blanche of Castile and Vienna ÖNB 2554," 177-208, and Anne Rudloff Stanton, "Isabelle of France and her Manuscripts, 1308-1358," 225-252, both in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

portraiture, both in personal prayer books and in larger manuscripts meant for public use and display. The lack of political insignia on Matilda's person, as well as the extremely small size of the manuscript in which it appears, reveals a much more intimate purpose for the portrait. The figure of the *destinatrice* was meant to inspire the duchess through association with both the now-lost holy figure or scene that she faced and the Virgin Mary, whose pose of intercession she imitates in her gestures. Emulation of the Byzantine formula of Deesis underscores the strength of the influence of eastern art at the court of Henry the Lion. Henry's political ambitions were of such a strength that Byzantine imperial portraiture was deemed an appropriate model for a portrait in his wife's private manuscript. The conception of Matilda as a direct intercessor on her own behalf with the divine mirrors the growing inward orientation of contemporary theology. By focusing on the interior, one can interact with divine; this conception of personal prayer is put into literal form in the psalter's owner portrait. The interiority of twelfth-century faith evident in the Baltimore portrait would appear in the later reflexive owner portraits of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in which figures at prayer gaze at visions of the divine.

The private intimacy of the portrait of the *destinatrice* in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter is missing in the Gospels of Henry the Lion, the large manuscript commissioned by Henry and Matilda for the church of Saint Blaise in Brunswick at the same time as the psalter. The two portraits of the couple in the Gospels make grander and bolder statements for the political and spiritual power of the ducal couple. In the Gospels and in other artistic commissions patronized by Henry and Matilda, iconography and

style in portraiture and other forms of imagery proclaim the political pretentions of the Welfs, creating a glaring contrast with the almost modest intimacy of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter.

Chapter 4: The Gospels of Henry the Lion: An Illuminating Contrast

The portrait of the *destinatrice* of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter provided the owner with a model of prayer and a vision of spiritual intimacy with the divine to endeavor (fig. 1). Serving as an intercessor upon her own behalf, the figure of the Duchess Matilda represents in art what her use of the psalter effects in practice. The small size, rich binding that appealed to the senses, and personalized portrait of the *destinatrice* invited the duchess to hold the psalter close and put it to use for private devotions.[98]

While the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter brought direct spiritual comfort in an intimate format during a trying moment for the duchess, the Gospels of Henry the Lion made a bold, public, political-spiritual statement of the might and station of the Welf dynasty. The design of the double donor portraits inside the gospels indicate a more grandiose purpose than that of the psalter, namely the memorialization and political aggrandizement of the ducal couple. The color scheme and gleaming gold and silver gilt used in the gospels' illuminations recalled the reliquaries surrounding the manuscript in its immediate environment, the Marian altar of the church of Saint Blaise in Brunswick, and tie it to the larger commission of the palace complex of Brunswick as a whole. The Gospels of Henry the Lion represent the pinnacle of this ambitious architectural project staking a claim for a sort of imperial sovereignty in northern Germany. The contrasts between the format, decoration, content and context of the gospel book and psalter commissioned by Henry and Matilda underline the ways that manuscripts responding to

[98] For a description of the likely appearance of the psalter's original binding, please see the Introduction section titled "Walters Art Museum MS W. 10: Description."

the same political circumstances can vary so widely when conceived for differing purposes.

THE DUCAL DOUBLE-PORTRAITS IN THE GOSPELS OF HENRY THE LION

The famed Gospel book commissioned by Duke Henry the Lion and his wife the Duchess Matilda for the church of Saint Blaise in Brunswick is among the most extravagantly illuminated manuscripts of the twelfth century. Currently residing in the Herzog-August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, the Gospel book was, at the time of its 1983 sale at Sotheby's in London, the most expensive manuscript ever sold. Made between 1185 and 1189, the manuscript is illuminated with twenty-one full-page illustrations, five illuminated canon tables, and four fully-painted and one half-painted pages of text. Like the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, the pages are illuminated not only in gold, but in silver-gilt. The gospels in their current state are bound in a reliquary binding of 1594 made of red velvet, gold, and silver (fig. 25). This binding was added while the Gospels were in the Prague Cathedral chapterhouse, where it arrived from Brunswick at an unknown date.[99]

As was appropriate in a gospel book, the illuminations depict gospel scenes from the Nativity to the Resurrection. Most interesting to our analysis, however, are the two illuminations bookending the gospel imagery. Double portraits of the ducal couple are

[99] "Evangeliar Heinrichs d. Löwen (Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2°) — Signaturdokument", Herzog-August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, accessed March 13th, 2017, http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=105-noviss-2f. In 1866 King George V of Hanover purchased the Gospels from the Prague Cathedral chapter for a planned museum of Welf ancestral treasures. The manuscript remained, however, in the royal family's private collection. After a black and white facsimile of the Gospels was produced by the Warburg Institute following the Second World War, the whereabouts of the manuscript was unknown for nearly forty years, until it appeared at auction in Sotheby's in 1983.

included in two full-page illustrations: a dedication picture (fol. 19r) (fig. 26), the first of a series of four illuminations preceding the text of the gospel of Matthew, and a coronation page (fol. 171v) (fig. 10), the last of a series of four illuminations following the gospel text. Combining the characteristics of dedication portraits, supplicant portraits, and regnal portraits, these two images contrast starkly with the devotional portrait of the Duchess Matilda in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. The religious content of the illuminations notwithstanding, these portraits contain a message that is as political as it is spiritual. Positioned at the beginning and end of the gospel text, these portraits enclose the scripture and render their message more vivid in the viewer's mind than if they were at other places in the manuscript.

The so-called "dedication portrait" is divided into two registers. In the top register, the infant Christ child is depicted in a gilt circle over the Virgin Mary's stomach, offering a gesture of benediction with his right hand and grasping a bound volume in the left. The crowned Virgin is seated on a throne inside a mandorla. A red label along the top of the illumination describes the Mary in on this page as "Theokotos," or "God-bearer," emphasizing her role as the mother of Christ. She is flanked on her left and right sides, respectively, by Saints Bartholomew and John the Baptist.

In the lower register, the ducal couple interact with Saints Blaise and Giles. Duke Henry stands at the far left shaking the hand of Blaise, who stands opposite, and holds up a model of the gospel book in dedication. Although he physically interacts with Blaise, the patron of the church for which the gospel book was made, Henry dedicates the manuscript to the Virgin above, to whom his gaze is directed. Blaise, in response to

Henry's actions, gestures toward the Virgin with his left hand. In a similar configuration, the Duchess Matilda, standing on the far right, grasps the hand of Giles, patron of a Benedictine monastery founded by the Brunonian dynasty that preceded the Welfs as Saxon dukes across the Oker river from the newer church; with her left hand she offers a golden object, which represents either a reliquary or a financial donation.[100] Gile's gesture is ambiguous. Facing Matilda, he could be blessing the duchess in a gesture of benediction, or like Blaise he could be pointing to the heavenly figures above; perhaps both meanings are implied.

Nevertheless, the gesture of Blaise combined with those of Henry and Matilda indicate that the saints are interceding for the ducal couple. Unable to communicate directly with the heavenly realm above, Henry and Matilda offer gifts of manuscripts and gold to the Virgin through the assistance of Blaise and Giles. In return for their generous donations, the ducal couple hopes for eternal salvation. This configuration mirrors the intercessory nature of medieval prayers to saints. While the image modestly implies a lack of direct communication between Christ and the Virgin and the ducal couple, the duke and duchess are depicted not only interacting with holy figures but literally grasping their hands.[101]

---

[100] Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen als geschichtliches Denkmal," in *Heinrichs des Löwen: Kommentar zum Faksimilie* (Munich: Insel-Verlag, 1989): 14.

[101] Another interesting aspect of the double portrait are the visual references, or lack thereof, to the figures' ranks. While Henry remains bare-headed, Matilda is depicted wearing a golden crown. The text label above the register clearly refers to the ducal status of both Henry and Matilda, but only Matilda's appearance reinforces her status. This possibly refers to her royal, rather than ducal, parentage.

Placed at the start of the program of full-page illuminations, the dedication portrait in the Gospels of Henry the Lion was intended to catch the attention of the viewer. Not only did the portrait establish the identities of the gospel book's patrons, but it was intended to inspire prayers for the patrons' souls in perpetuity. Whenever the gospel book was opened, whether for use in the mass or for another occasion, the priest's eyes would light on the figures of the duke and duchess. The priest was thus reminded to pray for the souls of the donors of the gospel book and the founders of the church. This portrait functioned as a memorial for Henry and Matilda.

Large memorial manuscripts had a long history in Western Europe prior to Henry and Matilda's gospel book. From Anglo-Saxon England to Ottonian Germany, manuscripts were donated by imperial or royal couples to churches, cathedrals, and monasteries to commemorate the patrons and inspire prayers for their souls. They often included dedication portraits like that seen in the Gospels of Henry the Lion.[102] In the Liber Vitae of New Minster and Hyde from 1031 (London, British Library, Stowe 944), for example, the text is preceded by a double portrait of King Cnut and Queen Emma dedicating a large cross placed on an altar between them to Christ, seated in majesty in a mandorla above (fol. 6r) (fig. 27). Two angels reach down from the heavens to crown Cnut and lay a veil upon Emma, implying divine favor.

A heavenly coronation is the central motif of the so-called "coronation portrait" at the back of the Gospels of Henry the Lion. If the dedication portrait served a memorial

[102] Oexle, "Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen als geschichtliches Denkmal," 20.

function, the coronation portrait had a much more immediate political purpose. The figures of Henry and Matilda are repeated in this image, but in contrast to the double portrait at the beginning of the gospels, the couple receives gifts from heaven instead of offering them themselves. In the center foreground of the lower register, the bare-headed ducal couple, gold crosses in hand, kneel below a bust-length figure of Christ. Two disembodied hands reach down from the upper register to place crowns on Henry and Matilda's heads. The couple's royal and imperial ancestors stand behind them, looking on. They grasp similar golden crosses in their hands. In the upper register, Christ and saints related to the Welf and Plantagenet families including Giles and Thomas Becket look onto the scene below in approval. Christ holds an open scroll with the text of Matthew 16:24: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."[103]

In light of this inscription, the crowns placed on Henry and Matilda's heads can represent crowns of eternal life and salvation.[104] This is indeed an appropriate interpretation for an image at the end of the gospel text, urging the viewer to think of his or her behavior in order to earn a place among the Saved. The decision to depict Henry and Matilda crowned by heavenly hands in the presence of their royal and imperial forbearers, however, holds additional implications for the interpretation of the double portrait. Although Henry exercised power comparable to that of a king in northern

[103] Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Fama und Memoria. Legitimationen fürstlicher Herrschaft im 12. Jahrhundert," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235.* Vol. 2*, Essays*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt et al. (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1995): 66. Biblical text is cited here and throughout from the Douay-Rheims translation.
[104] Oexle, "Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen als geschichtliches Denkmal," 26.

Germany, he was only a duke. He and his consort, Matilda, however, are shown in the portrait to have imperial origins. Henry's parents, Duke Henry the Proud of Bavaria and Duchess Gertrude of Süpplingenburg, stand immediately behind him, uncrowned with crosses in hand. Behind Gertrude stand her own parents, Emperor Lothair II and Empress Richenza of Northeim. Not only are they both crowned, but Lothair is dressed in the imperial chlamys seen in depictions of earlier emperors including Charles the Bald and Otto III. Their status is confirmed in the labels above the lower register that double as a border between the earthly and heavenly realms. To the right of the ducal couple, Matilda is flanked by her father, the crowned Henry II, "King of the English," and her paternal grandmother Matilda. An unidentified woman stands behind the Queen, possibly added to balance the composition. Although Matilda is labeled as a queen, it is significant that instead of including Henry's wife, Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine, "only" a sovereign duchess in her own right, the artist included Queen Matilda, who was Holy Roman empress during her first marriage to Emperor Henry V. The royal and, more importantly, imperial descent of the ducal couple was thus emphasized in this coronation scene. Instead of being simply a heavenly gift, these holy crowns and the scene at large are given equally temporal character by the presence of the couple's imperial and royal forbearers. Through this portrait Henry and Matilda claim a rank and power equal to that of their imperial ancestors by virtue of heredity and divine approval.

The inclusion of this double portrait at the end of the Gospels of Henry the Lion makes sense in light of the context of its creation. Made for the altar of Mary in the church of Saint Blaise and donated at the time of the altar's consecration, the gospels and

their double portraits honor the altar's patrons, Duke Henry and Duchess Matilda (fig. 28). The inscription on a reliquary found in one of the altar's bronze columns in 1966 lists the consecration date as 1188. It dedicates the altar to the "God-bearing Mary" and lists the same ancestors of the ducal couple depicted in the coronation portrait (fig. 29).[105] The illumination ties the gospel directly to its intended environment. Much like the dedication portrait at the beginning of the manuscript, the coronation portrait reminded the priests using the gospels and the worshippers in their congregation not only of their founders' place among the Saved, but their heavenly-bestowed imperial rank.

The emphasis of the coronation page on the couple's imperial status is related to the political climate in northern Germany in the late 1180s. After his first exile from the Empire earlier in the decade, Henry may have been reinstated as Duke of Saxony, but the tensions between the duke and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa remained. After Henry's refusal to join the emperor on the Crusades at the Diet in Mainz in 1188, he was once more forced into exile. The manuscript was likely commissioned at least a few years before Henry's second exile, but the memory of his struggle with the emperor certainly remained on his mind after his return to Saxony from England in 1185. Humiliated by his expulsion from his home and the reduction of his patrimony, Henry likely saw the gospel book for the church of Saint Blaise, among other artistic commissions in Brunswick and throughout Saxony, as a means of visually re-asserting his sovereignty. Henry's decision to have himself and his wife depicted receiving crowns from the hands of God was a bold

[105] Ibid., 17.

statement of political ambition and will in the face of the emperor. The spiritual and political concerns of the ducal couple are made one and the same and put on public display in the illuminations of the Gospels of Henry the Lion. They contrast sharply with the illuminations in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter which instead reflect an introspective, personal spirituality.

THE WIDER ARTISTIC ENVIRONMENT: THE BRUNSWICK *BURGPLATZ*

Henry's artistic audacity extended beyond the Gospels of Henry the Lion and its altar setting to the architectural environment of the ducal palace complex in the city of Brunswick itself. Rebuilt by Henry the Lion on the site of an earlier residential-ecclesiastical compound, the complex consisted of the church of Saint Blaise, begun in 1173, and Dankwarderode castle, begun around 1160 (fig. 30).[106] The castle and church frame the modern *Burgplatz*, in the center of which was placed a bronze lion cast in 1166 (fig. 31).[107] In pose, material, and location in the center of a palace-church complex, the lion recalls the so-called Capitoline Wolf (fig. 32). During Henry's lifetime the Capitoline Wolf was on view in the Lateran complex, which served as the residence of the Holy Roman emperor while in Rome.[108] Henry, having visited Rome on multiple occasions in the service of his cousin Frederick Barbarossa, was likely aware of this monument and its association with imperial rule. By commissioning the bronze lion to

[106] Ibid., 14.
[107] Patrick M. de Winter, *The Sacral Treasure of the Guelphs* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985): 7.
[108] Oexle, "Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen als geschichtliches Denkmal," 16.

stand in the center of his own residential complex, Henry made claim to imperial authority while making his sovereignty over Saxony manifest.

Henry did not have to look to the Lateran alone, however, for imperial residential-ecclesiastical complexes. Countless examples littered the Holy Roman Empire. Charlemagne's palace and chapel at Aachen was likely the earliest example, establishing the model of an imperial residence connected to a church or chapel by the early ninth century (fig. 33). The chapel treasury was filled with precious relics, including the cloak of the Virgin Mary.[109] At the center of the complex stood a bronze Roman statue of a bear, which was believed to be a wolf in the Middle Ages (fig. 34).[110] Staking a claim for succession to the vacant Roman imperial title, Charlemagne's commission of a palace-chapel compound declared the close association between the power of the emperor and the power of the church.

Later rulers seeking to confirm their place among Charlemagne's successors followed this example.[111] Otto I's abbey church (and later cathedral) at Magdeburg was planned as part of an imperial palace compound in the eastern reaches of the empire, signaling his expansionist ambitions in the wake of his victory over the Hungarians at the

---

[109] Arnold Angenendt, "Relics and Their Veneration," in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, eds. Martina Bagnoli et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010): 23.
[110] Franz Niehoff, "Heinrich der Löwe— Herrschaft und Repräsentation: Vom individuellen Kunstkreis zum interdisziplinären Braunschweiger Hof der Welfen," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit*. Vol. 2, *Essays*, 219.
[111] Eliza Garrison, *Ottonian Imperial Art and Portraiture: The Artistic Patronage of Otto III and Henry II* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012): 22-28.

Battle of Lech in 955 (fig. 35). To lend greater prestige to the church, Otto brought the relics of Saint Maurice from Regensburg to reside at his new foundation. [112]

Henry the Lion, in his construction of the palatine complex in Brunswick consisting of a residence and church housing important relics, fits in line with earlier German rulers seeking to establish their prestige as successors to imperial majesty with ambitious architectural projects. What separates Henry from his successors, however, is his lack of the actual imperial title. By the time the Marian altar in the church of Saint Blaise was consecrated in 1188, he had been exiled from the empire, lost both of his duchies, had one duchy reinstated, and was well on his way toward being exiled for a second time. While the church of Saint Blaise, the bronze lion, and Dankwarderode castle had been under construction before Henry's initial conflict with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, the coronation portrait at the end of the Gospels of Henry the Lion completed in 1188 represents the pinnacle of this project, staking a claim for imperial power in defiance of the rank and authority of the actual emperor. It could not contrast more with the modest, contemplative tenor and content of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, which by its very conception was de-contextualized, meant to be associated with a person rather than a place.

THE GOSPELS OF HENRY THE LION AS A PUBLIC 'TREASURE'

The decision of Duke Henry the Lion and the Duchess Matilda to commission the gospel book for the Marian altar of Saint Blaise had no small bearing on its design and

[112] Ibid., 28-30.

imagery. At 34.2 by 25.5 centimeters, the Gospels of Henry the Lion easily ranks among the larger books from the twelfth century that survive today. While the small size of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter inspired the individual holding the manuscript to associate it with her person, the large size of the gospels inspired awe and dissociation. The gigantic, according to Susan Stewart, is a distortion that makes the body feel smaller and insignificant.[113] Instead of inspiring feelings of intimacy, an oversized volume marked the reader as both outside and beneath. The viewer of the Gospels of Henry the Lion thus approached the manuscript with a sense of awe for and the majesty of the gospel book and gained an impression of the might of its patrons after seeing the two double portraits beginning and ending the gospel text.

It is highly fitting that the gospels were made for use at the high altar of the church of Saint Blaise. Not only would the gospels be on public display during their use in the mass, becoming an intrinsic part of the church's liturgical paraphernalia, but through their regular presence on the altar they became associated with the countless reliquaries in the church's treasury regularly put on display upon the same altar. Many of these reliquaries were commissions of Henry the Lion himself for relics that he had obtained while on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[114] Few of the reliquaries were likely on continuous view upon the Marian altar: it was much more common for relics to be on

---

[113] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993): 71.

[114] Along with the Gospels of Henry the Lion and reliquaries made for Henry's forbearers and descendants, these reliquaries form the core of what would later be known as the Guelph Treasure (*Welfenschatz*), which was sold over the course of the early twentieth century by the House of Hannover. De Winter, *The Sacral Treasure of the Guelphs*, 7-8.

temporary display for appropriate feasts or relevant points in the liturgy.[115] This was likely due to concerns of both safety and space as well as a means to highlight certain relics in the church's treasury. Over the course of time and the liturgical calendar, the regular display of the church's reliquaries with the Gospels of Henry the Lion created an association between the manuscript and the church's relics. The fact that the manuscript itself, like gospel books throughout medieval Europe, was likely stored in the treasury with the reliquaries, would also emphasize this association in the minds of visitors to the church.[116]

The appearance of the manuscript illuminations underscored this relationship. Not only are they illuminated in gold, as was common among more lavish manuscript illuminations, but they are often illuminated in silver as well. This is uncommon among twelfth-century manuscript illuminations in general but frequently found in manuscripts illuminated at Helmarshausen, including the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. The presence of a workshop of gold- and silversmiths at Helmarshausen, including the renowned Roger of Helmarshausen active in the early twelfth century, likely contributed to the scriptorium's facility in silver illumination.[117] The frequent use of green and blue for the backgrounds of the illuminations mirrors these colors' presence in the contemporary enamelwork of the Rhine and Mosan regions. Many reliquaries commissioned by Henry for the treasury of Saint Blaise were made in this region and

---

[115] Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-circa 1204* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012): 203.
[116] Ibid., 202.
[117] De Winter, *The Sacral Treasury of the Guelphs*, 103-4.

decorated with these colors, including the portable altar of Eilbertus made in Cologne about 1150 (fig. 36).[118] Although the original binding of the gospels is lost, it was certainly lavishly decorated with expensive materials. Containing the word of God made flesh written on flesh and decorated in a manner recalling the reliquaries with which it was displayed and stored, the Gospels of Henry the Lion became another reliquary in and of itself, honoring Christ's Passion and associating its patrons with the holy figures it honors.

A work of the finest illumination and bookbinding of the twelfth century, the Gospels of Henry the Lion drew the attention of its clerical and courtly audience through its distorted size and lavish decoration. Placed on the central altar of the church for use in the mass, the gospels would have served as a fundamental accessory of the church's religious ritual. Use of the gospels kept the two double portraits of Duke Henry and Duchess Matilda on regular view, reminding the portraits' viewers of the couple's faith, generosity, and might, and encouraging prayers for the well-being of their souls. The decoration of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, of no lower quality than that of the Gospels of Henry the Lion, served no (direct) purpose of memorialization, but offered its owner, the Duchess Matilda, spiritual guidance and comfort. Instead of blending into a specific environment, the binding and illuminations of the psalter served as a sensual appeal to the duchess to draw the precious, undersized volume to herself. Rather than commemorating a donation or celebrating one's divine right to rule, the illuminations in

[118] Ibid., 67.

the psalter, particularly the portrait of the *destinatrice*, allowed the owner to visualize an encounter with the divine like that described in 1 Corinthians 13:12: "We see now through a glass in a dark manner; but then [we shall see as though] face to face." Although each manuscript was either a direct or partial response to the political atmosphere in Saxony in the late 1180s making either a political-religious statement or offering personal spiritual comfort, each commission yielded a different end result reflected in its design, illumination, and format.

CONCLUSION

A treasure among treasures, a symbolic relic of Christ's Passion among reliquaries, and a princely memorial inside a palace complex fit for an emperor, the Gospels of Henry the Lion is a grandiose and seemingly contradictory declaration of power, divine right, humility, and defiance in the face of imperial rule. It could not contrast more strikingly with the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. With limited illuminations and of a size to fit into the palm of one's hand, the psalter is more akin to a humble plea than a theatrical overture to heaven for its blessing.

Both manuscripts, however, were made in response to the same political climate. Although the couple was reinstated as Duke and Duchess of Saxony after their return from exile in 1185, their sovereignty rested on unstable ground at the emperor's pleasure. The decision to continue with the construction of the Brunswick palace complex and to commission the massive gospel book for the high altar of the church of Saint Blaise indicate not only a desire to complete what had already been begun but to continue in direct defiance of the setbacks the couple had faced and overcome. The message of this

continued project is epitomized in the coronation portrait at the end of the Gospels of Henry the Lion: the ducal couple hold quasi-imperial power by right of divine favor and heredity. Made for use at the main church of the Saxon ducal court, the imagery of the gospel book's portraits proclaim the might of the Welfs to courtiers, diplomats, clergy, and other visitors to Saint Blaise at a moment of gradually mounting tensions that would lead to Henry's second exile from Saxony.

Instead of serving the ducal court and the associated clergy, the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter served an audience of one: the Duchess Matilda. Matilda returned to Saxony with the possibility of another expulsion hanging over her head. The psalter was quite possibly commissioned to give the duchess a more personal means of easing her soul during anxious times. In her prayers, as in her private worries, she was neither a duchess nor the granddaughter of an empress, but a soul quite literally before the divine. While the Gospels of Henry the Lion were a donation to the Virgin Mary and a declaration of power, the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter was a balm for a devout (noble)woman to comfort her soul with private prayer.

It is through direct comparison between the two manuscripts, commissioned by the same couple in response to the exact same political circumstances, that the quiet, intimate character of the psalter is best accentuated. While the bulky memorial manuscripts of the type epitomized by the Gospels of Henry the Lion would soon find themselves out of style in Western Europe, the quiet intimacy of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter and its owner portrait would find its way into the later psalter-

hours and books of hours that would eventually become the favored personal prayer book of the later Middle Ages.

Conclusion

Despite its miniscule size and creation for private use, the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter would be followed in the history of medieval manuscript production by countless psalters, psalter-hours and then books of hours with similar dimensions, content, and owner portraiture. It is highly unlikely that the psalter served as a direct model for these later manuscripts, but the existence of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter indicates that the theological, iconographic, and bibliographic trends in Western Europe that shaped the creation of these later prayer books were present in manuscript production at an earlier date and in a wider geographical context than previously believed.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century owner portraits inside personal prayer books began to mirror the actual religious practices of these owners. These prayer books, increasingly psalter-hours or books of hours over the course of the century, included what Alexa Sand has referred to as "reflexive owner portraits," referring to owner portraits that portray the owner at prayer, reflecting how he or she was meant to use these manuscripts.[119] Along with the figure of the owner, these reflexive portraits often include a holy figure or figures, the implied visionary outcome of these practices (fig. 37).

The emphasis on spiritual interiority that began in earlier centuries accelerated in the thirteenth century, creating a greater stress on the visionary aspect of prayer in

[119] Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014): 1-3.

personal devotions.[120] Visual devotion began to focus on "the prolonged gaze apprehended as an interactive experience" with the divine.[121] The continuous gaze offered the devotee "sustained access to divine truths."[122] Owner portraits of worshippers gazing at divine figures were not purely metaphorical but were understood to depict distinct possibilities through prayer and visual devotion. In this sense, these later portraits have much in common with that of Matilda in the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter (fig. 1). The depictions of these later noblewomen, however, offered the women depicted a more literal model for their personal devotions. More than a means of personalizing a prayer book, these reflexive owner portraits set a literal example before the manuscript's owner of how they should pray.

The portrait of the *destinatrice* of the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter was not a direct model for the later, self-reflexive owner portraits found in the psalter-hours and books of hours of later royalty and nobility. Isolated in Saxony from the later centers of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century book production in Paris, Cologne, northwestern France, and southern England, the tiny portrait in Matilda's psalter likely did not gain much of an audience beyond her more immediate descendants.[123] Nevertheless, the ideas inherent in the Baltimore portrait gained greater currency in later owner portraiture throughout Western Europe: interiority and visuality as a means of sustained connection

---

[120] Ibid., 5, 11-12.
[121] Cynthia Hahn, "*Viseo Dei*: Changes in Medieval Visuality," in *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. Robert S. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 169.
[122] Ibid., 188.
[123] As previously mentioned, the psalter's next known whereabouts was in Salzburg in the 15th century. Please see the Introduction section titled "History of the Psalter."

to the divine. Portraits emphasizing intimate interaction with the divine were painted in smaller manuscripts allowing for more intimate reaction with the word of God itself. If not a direct model, the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter represented a sea change in patrons' artistic and bibliographic tastes and prayer habits. Although decoration became more elaborate and the illustrated texts more varied in later private illustrated prayer books, the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter is a valuable reminder of how, even far from the cultural and intellectual hubs of twelfth-century Europe, the tiniest manuscript can foretell the transformation of manuscript production in these distant centers.

Exploring the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, particularly in light of the more famous Gospels of Henry the Lion, questions on public and private audiences and spheres arise. Who saw what and where? Why were they meant to see it? The psalter was commissioned for private use with an intended audience of one in the person of the duchess, but it likely had a larger 'audience' of individuals who saw the psalter in use, as the duchess either prayed in church or worked at her devotions in her personal chambers at the ducal residence, her ladies gathered around her. The small size and rich binding likely made it an object of curiosity for many members of and visitors to the ducal court. Other than the binding and gilt fore-edge, these incidental viewers were likely unable to observe the illuminations inside the psalter. These illuminations, and the owner portrait in particular, remained by-and-large under the personal eye of Matilda herself. The image of spiritual intimacy offered by the portrait and other images was for her viewing alone. While the format and rich decoration of the psalter recalled miniature manuscripts from

Byzantium, lending Matilda the cultural sheen of an imperial consort, the images and text inside comforted the duchess's soul.

The intended audience of the Gospels of Henry the Lion, on the other hand, was considerably larger. Commissioned for use on the high altar of the church of Saint Blaise, the palace church of the court of Saxony in Brunswick, the gospel book was created to be seen by visitors to the church during mass. The gospel's large dimensions allowed the manuscript and the illuminations inside to be seen by more than the clergy participating in the ritual of mass at the altar. Even for those who were too far away to see the content of the illuminations well, the shine of the gold and silver gilt, the vivid colors, and the massive scale of the gospel book itself made it an object of curiosity for courtiers, clergy, and visitors to the court alike, for all who would have made use of the church. The message of divine favor and imperial might in the donor portraiture of the gospel book was broadcast to those visitors whom Henry and Matilda most wanted to receive it.

German princely courts in the twelfth century were saturated with visual, non-verbal signs, from seals and clothing to helmet decoration. Court ceremony, from tournaments to feasts, amounted to performances of political power.[124] Multiple centers of artistic production in Germany in the twelfth century served the needs of emperors and courtiers alike. The messages alternatively hinted at by the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter or proclaimed by the Gospels of Henry the Lion were easily understood by their intended audiences, inundated by visual symbols throughout their lives as aristocrats.

[124] For an excellent description of German courtly material culture and ceremony, see Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 103-273.

What makes the Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter unique from these other aspects of material culture is its intimacy, planned from its conception for one pair of eyes alone.

Although it is difficult, if not impossible, to gain access to the private world of a twelfth-century noblewoman over eight centuries after her death, the material clues that remain offer us a brief glimpse into her daily life. We are lucky to find anything related to Matilda's role as duchess; the preservation of an object used in her daily life beyond her role as ducal consort is near miraculous. The Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, far from a footnote in the patronage of the Welfs, is one of the most crucial commissions of the ducal couple. It was made exclusively for use by the Duchess Matilda alone, a mission reflected in its size, decoration, content, and imagery. The Psalter of Henry the Lion was made earlier for the shared use of the ducal couple, but it differed from the later Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter in both its size and the design of its owner portrait. While the double portrait in the earlier psalter followed donor portrait tradition, the later supplicant portrait in Matilda's psalter followed newly-reintroduced Byzantine iconography and revealed the inward orientation of contemporary theology as understood by the manuscript's patron, possibly Matilda herself. The psalter's commission during a time of rising tensions with the Holy Roman emperor hint at a greater anxiety felt at the Saxony court than the patrons of the Gospels of Henry the Lion would like to admit.

Relegated to a curiosity of Henry the Lion's court for far too long, the Baltimore-Helmarshausen is an excellent record of the spiritual, cultural, and political climate at the Saxon court as experienced by one of its most important members, the Duchess Matilda. The duchess and her husband Henry may have proclaimed their might through countless

other artistic commissions, including architecture, enamel- and metalwork, and manuscript illumination, but this tiny psalter gives modern audiences a glimpse of the duchess as a soul before the divine, praying for a momentary reprieve from the cares of the world.

Appendix A: Codicology

Foliation
i+125+i

Collation
Indeterminate due to the fragile state of the psalter.

Dimensions
Bound manuscript: 12.5 by 7.2 centimeters

Text block: 11.5 by 6.2 centimeters

Area of written text: 9.2 by 4 centimeters

Layout
Fols 2r-6r: Two columns, thirty-two ruled lines of text.

Fols 6v-126v: One column, twenty-six ruled lines of text.

Content
Fols. 2r-6r: Calendar from April to December.

Fols. 6v-111v: Liturgical psalter.

Fols. 111v-121v: Canticles, hymns, and creeds.

Fols. 121v-124r: Litany, petitions, and collects.

Fols. 124r-126v: Minor Office of the Dead.

Decoration
Fol. 6v: Full-page illumination of a noble woman at prayer.

Fol. 7r: Full-page initial "B."

Fol. 41v: Full-page illumination of the Crucifixion.

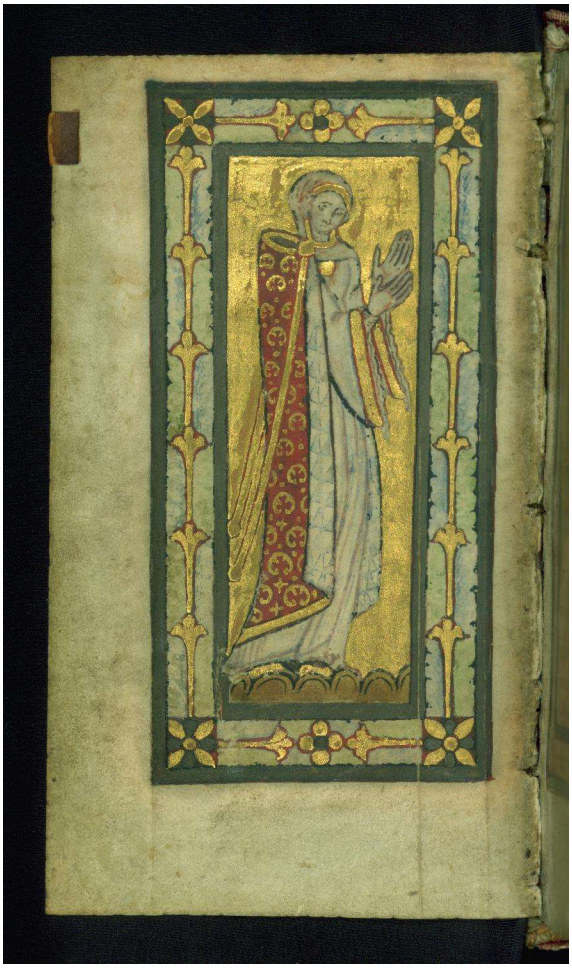
Fol. 42r: Full-page initial "Q."

Fol. 77v: Full-page illumination of Christ in Majesty.

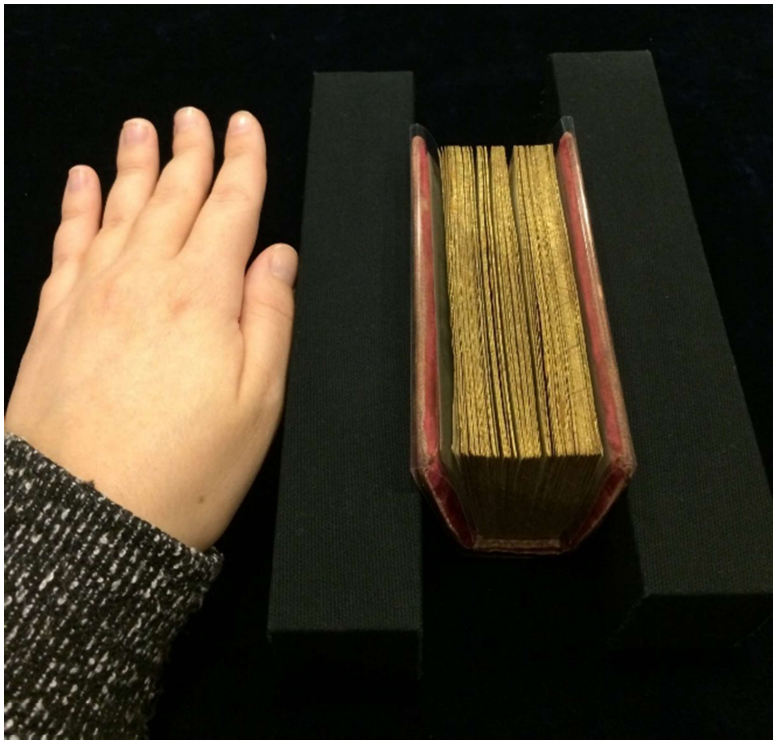
Fol. 78r: Full-page initial "D."

Fol. 88v: Half-page initial “D.”

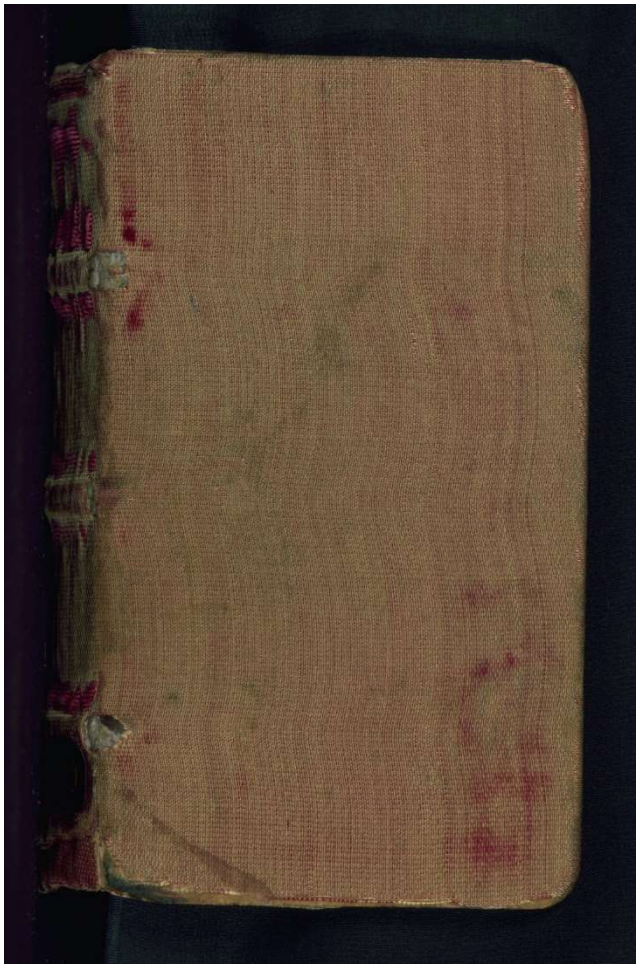
Figures



(1) Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. *Owner Portrait (Matilda, duchess of Saxony).* c. 1185-1188. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 10, fol. 6v. (Source: The Walters Art Gallery, website).

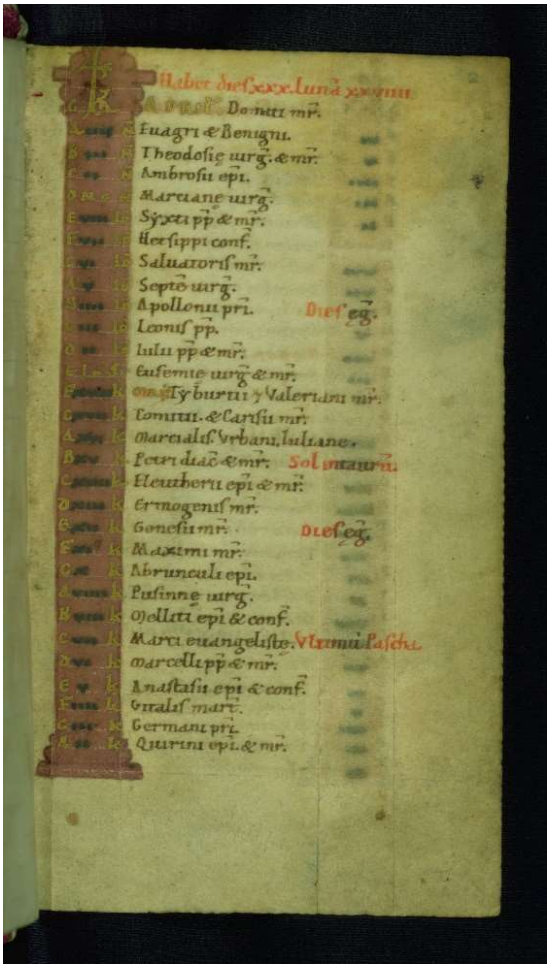


(2) Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, size comparison with hand. (Source: Author's photo).

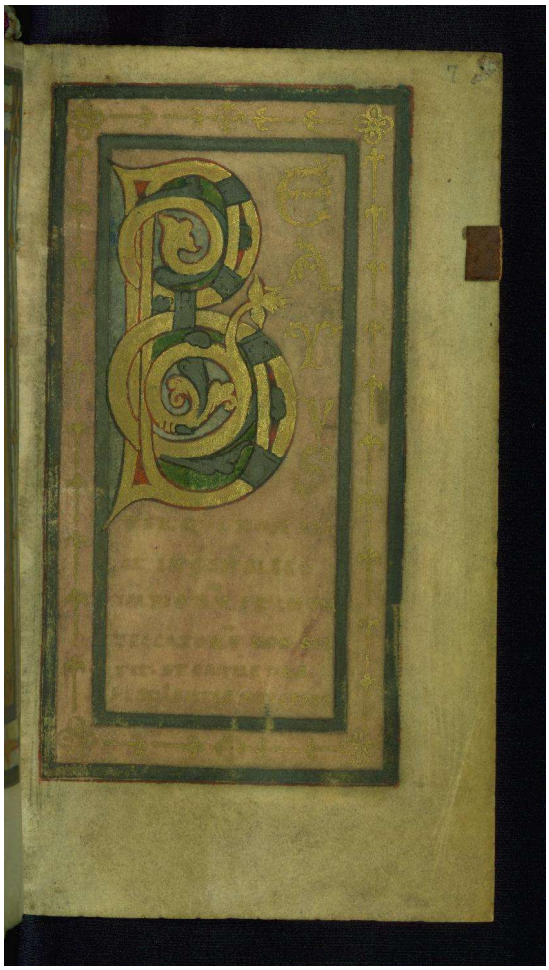


(3) Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. Cover. Date unknown. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 10. (Source: The Walters Art Museum, website).

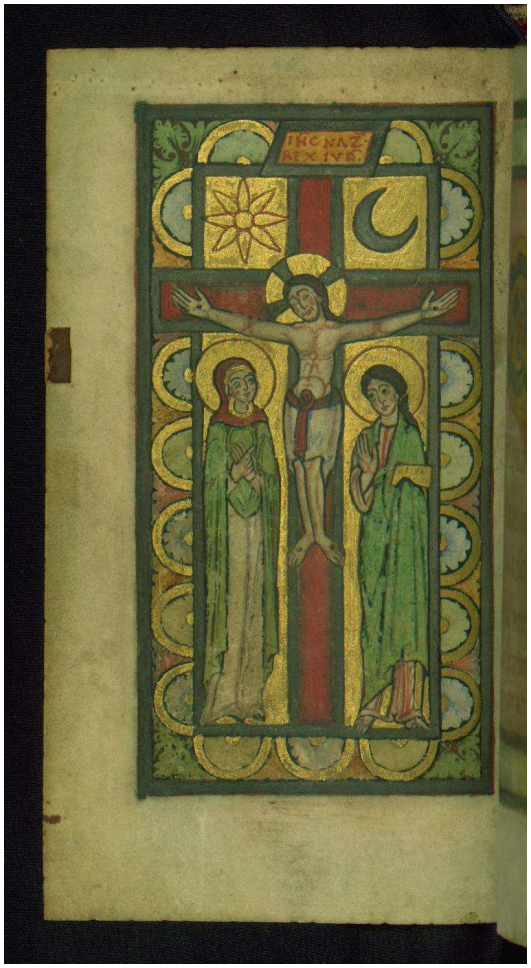
(4) Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter, fore-edge decoration. c. 1185-1188. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 10. (Source: The Walters Art Museum, website).



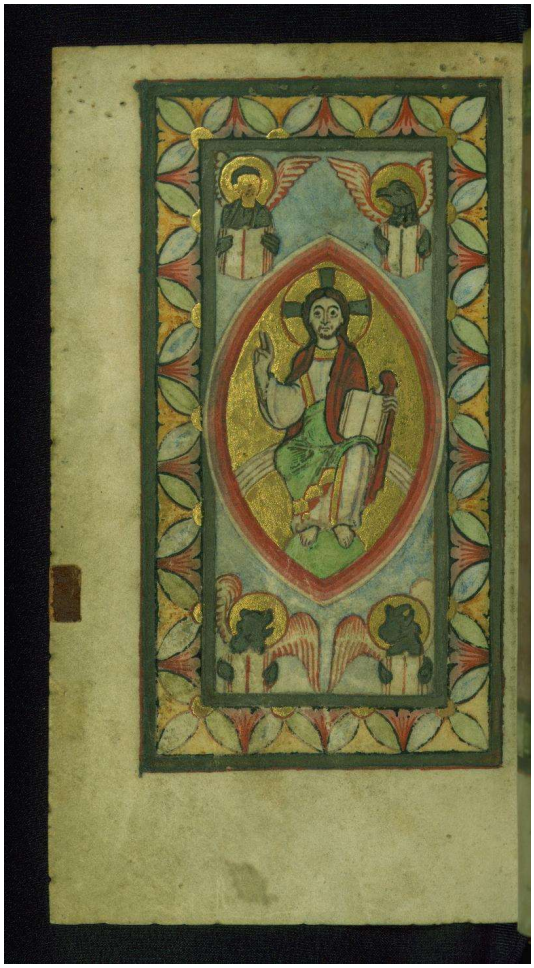
(5) Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. *Calendar*. c. 1185-1188. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 10, fol. 2r. (Source: The Walters Art Museum, website).



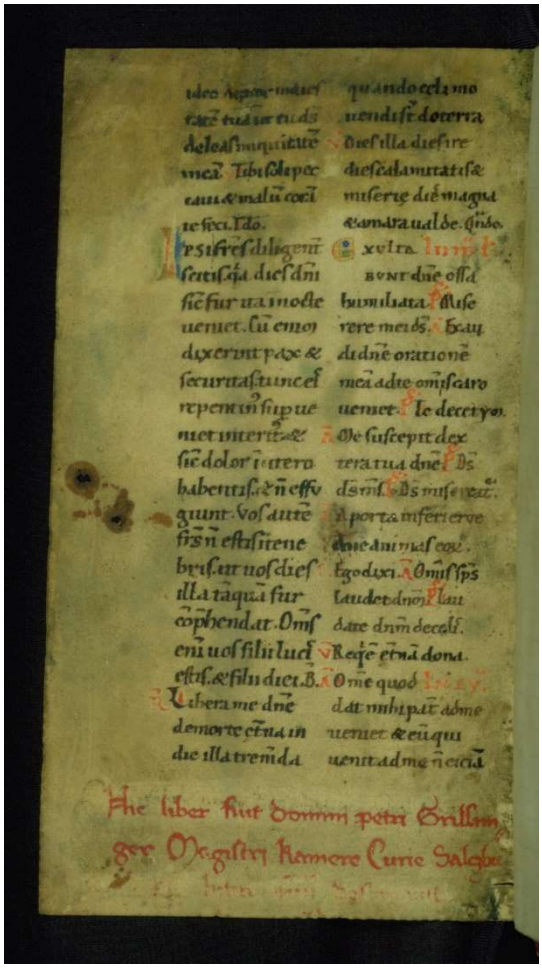
(6) Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. *Initial B (Beatus vir)*. c. 1185-1188. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 10, fol. 7r. (Source: The Walters Art Museum, website).



(7) Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. *Crucifixion*. c. 1185-1188. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 10, fol. 41v. (Source: The Walters Art Museum, website).



(8) Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. *Christ in Majesty*. c. 1185-1188. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 10, fol. 77v. (Source: The Walters Art Museum, website).



(9) Baltimore-Helmarshausen Psalter. *Inscription by Petrus Grillinger*. c. 1185-1188. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 10, fol. 126v. (Source: The Walters Art Museum, website).

(10) Gospels of Henry the Lion. *Coronation Page*. c. 1185-1188. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2°, fol. 171v. (Source: Herzog August Bibliothek, website).

(11) *Evangelist Matthew*. Late 11th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 522, fol. 11v. (Source: The Walters Art Museum, website).

(12) *Evangelist Mark*. c. 1000. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 527, fol. 1v. (Source: The Walters Art Museum, website).

(13) Prayer Book of Charles the Bald. Ivory book covers. 9th century. Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum. (Source: Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, website).

(14) *Christ in Majesty with Saint Vitalis and Bishop Ecclesius.* c. 540-547. Basilica of San Vitale, Ravenna. (Source: Unsworth, from *The New York Times Magazine*, 2002).

(15) Hillinus Codex. *Donor portrait of canon Hillinus*. c. 1020. Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Dom Hs. 12, fol. 16v. (Source: Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, website).

(16) Gospels of Henry II. *Donor Portrait*. c. 1012. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Msc. Bibli. 95, fols. 7v-8r. (Source: Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, website).

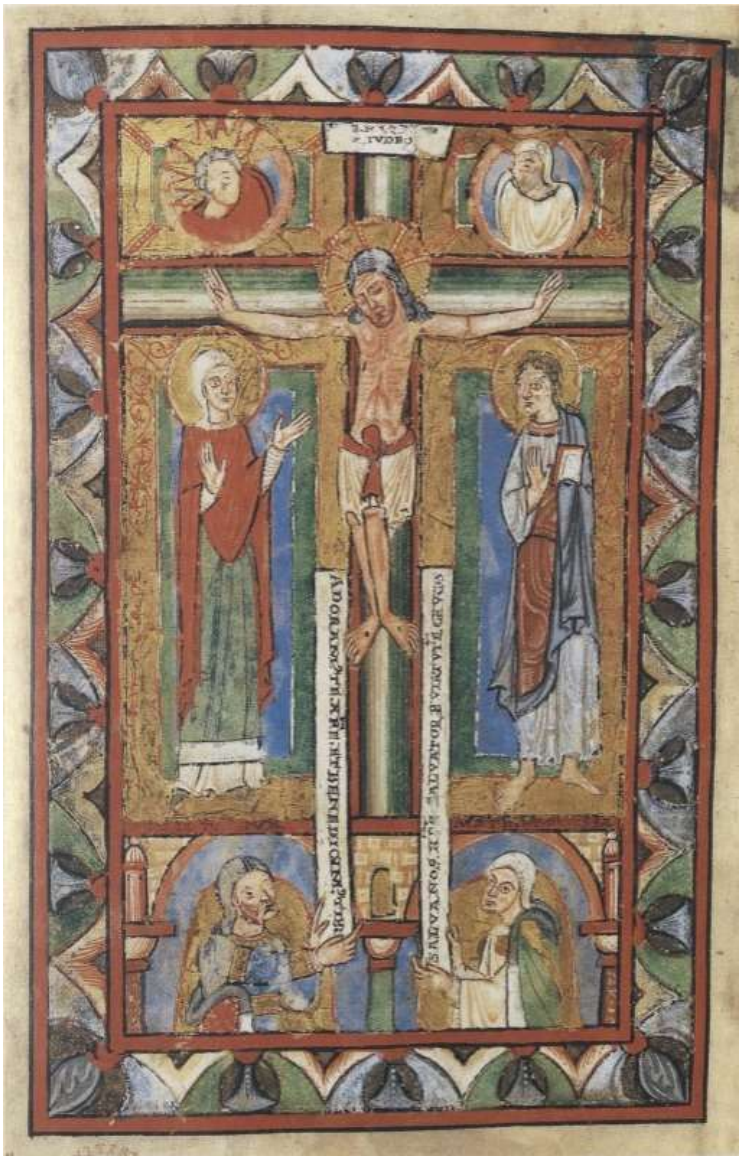
(17) Prayer Book of Charles the Bald. *Portrait of Charles the Bald* (left) *and Crucifixion* (right). 846-869. Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, ResMü Schk 4 WL, fol. 38v-39r. (Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, website).

(18) Prayer Book of Otto III. *Crucifixion* (left) *and Deesis with portrait of Otto III* (right). 983-991. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30111, fol. 1v-2r. (Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, website).

(19) Prayer Book of Otto III. *Supplicant Portrait of Otto III* (left) *and Christ in Majesty* (right). 983-991. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30111, fol. 20v-21r. (Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, website).

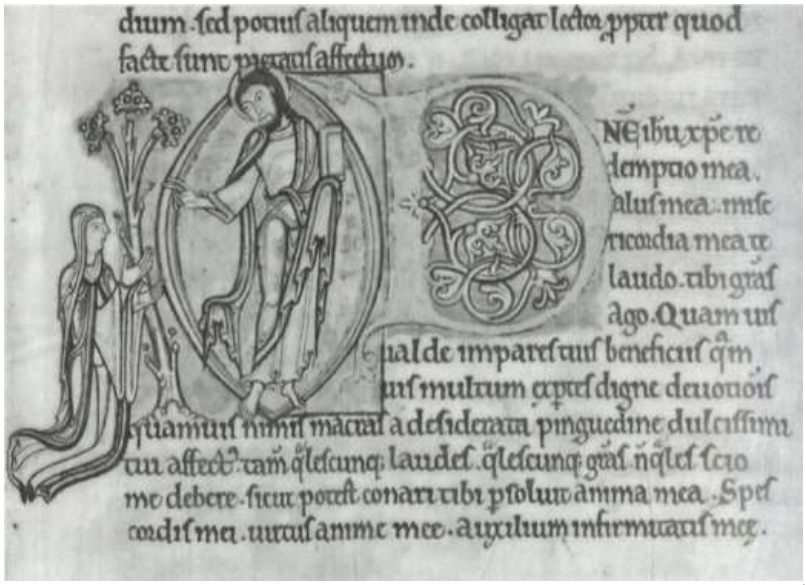
(20) Prayer Book of Otto III. *Dedication Portrait*. 983-991. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30111, fol. 43v. (Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, website).

(21) Gospel Book of Judith of Flanders. *Crucifixion*. c. 1065. New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M. 709, fol. 1v. (Source: The Morgan Library & Museum, website).



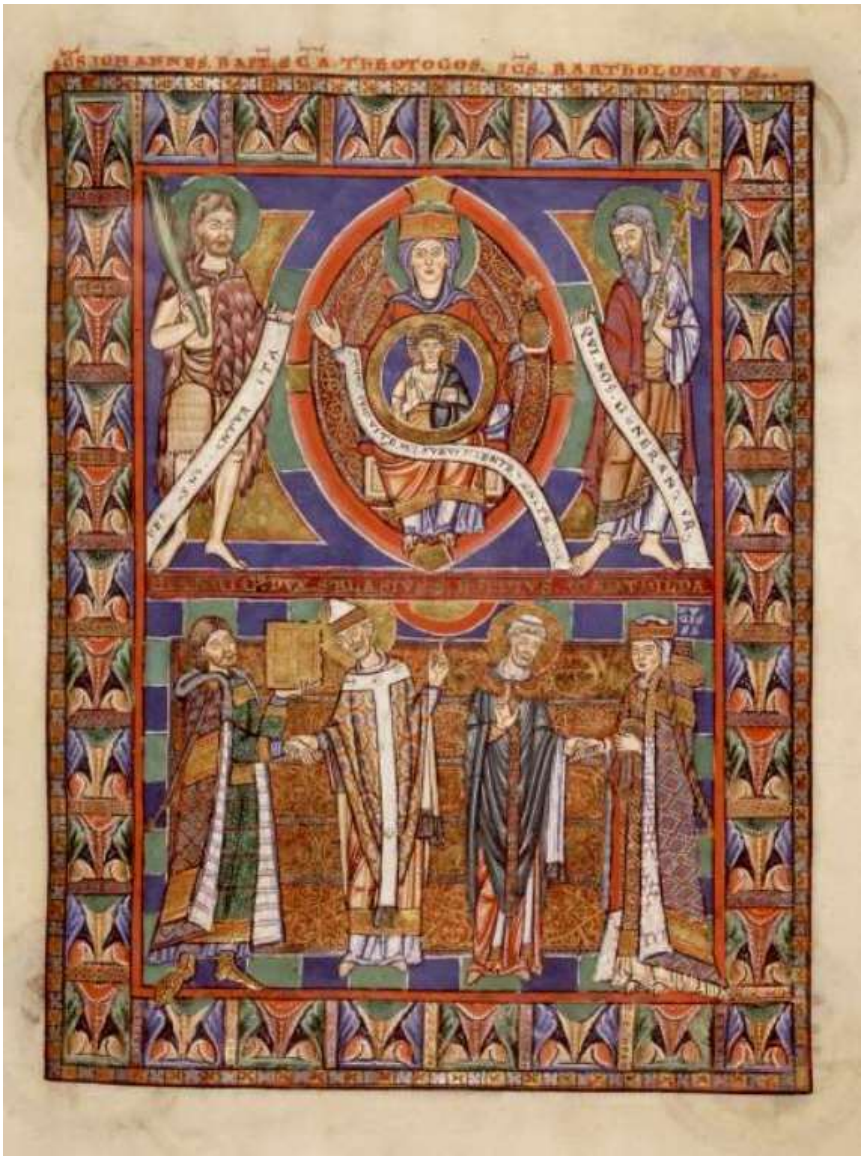
(22) Psalter of Henry the Lion. *Dedication Portrait*. c. 1170-1172. London, British Library, Lansdowne 381, fol. 10v. (Source: The British Library, from Luckhardt and Niehoff, *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235*. Vol. 1, *Katalog,* 1995).

(23) Homilies of Saint John Chrysostom. *Dedication Portrait*. 1078-1081. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Coislin MS 79, fol. 2v. (Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, website).



(24) Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm. *Noli me tangere*. Mid-12th century. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.6, fol. 156r. (Source: Bodleian Library, from Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art*, 2014).

(25) Gospels of Henry the Lion, Cover. 1594. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2°. (Source: Herzog August Bibliothek, website).



(26) Gospels of Henry the Lion. *Dedication Page*. c. 1185-1188. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2°, fol. 19r. (Source: Herzog August Bibliothek, website).

(27) Liber Vitae of Newminster and Hyde. *Donor portrait of King Cnut and Queen Emma*. c. 1031. London, British Library, Stowe 944, fol. 6r. (Source: The British Library, website).

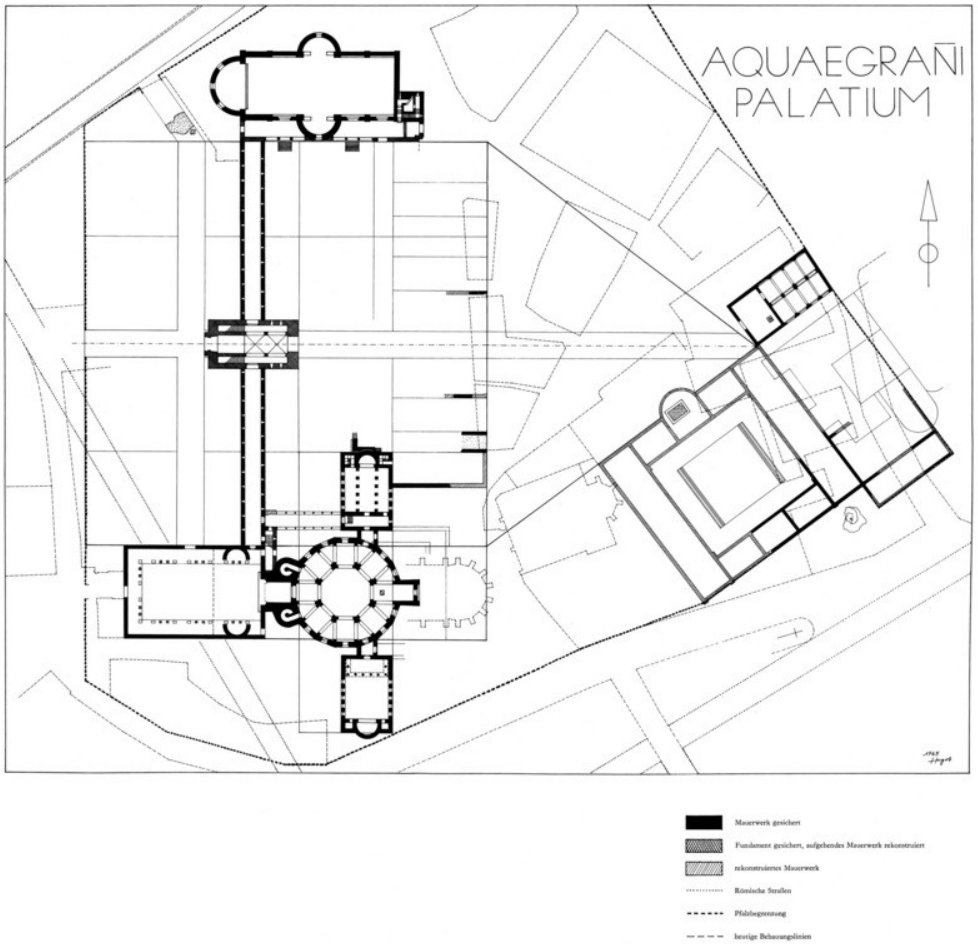
(28) *Bronze and Marble Altar of Mary*. c. 1188. Brunswick cathedral (formerly church of Saint Blaise), Brunswick, Germany. (Source: Brüdern, from Luckhardt and Niehoff, *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235*. Vol. 1, *Katalog*, 1995.)

(29) *Bronze Pillar Reliquary.* c. 1188. Altar of Mary, Brunswick cathedral (formerly church of Saint Blaise), Brunswick. (Source: Brüdern, from Luckhardt and Niehoff, *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235*. Vol. 1, *Katalog,* 1995).

(30) *Burgplatz* with Brunswick cathedral (originally Church of Saint Blaise), Brunswick Lion, and Dankwarderode castle, 1160-1226. Brunswick, Germany. (Source: Hirmer Verlag, from Luckhardt and Niehoff, *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235*. Vol. 1, *Katalog,* 1995).

(31) *Bronze Lion*. c. 1166. Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum. (Source: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, photo by B.P. Keiser, from Luckhardt and Niehoff, *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235*. Vol. 1, *Katalog,* 1995).

(32) *Capitoline Wolf*. 5th century BCE or 8th century CE, with nursing twins as Renaissance additions. Rome, Capitoline Museum. (Source: Capitoline Museum, website).



(33) Plan of Palatine Residence. Aachen, 8th-9th centuries. (Source: Hugos, from Braunfels, *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, 1965).

(34) *Bronze "Lupa."* c. 160-180. Aachen, Cathedral chapter. (Source: Herzog, from Luckhardt and Niehoff, *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235*. Vol. 1, *Katalog,* 1995).

(35) Magdeburg Cathedral. 1209-1520. (Source: after Schubert, *Stätten sächsicher Kaiser: Quedlinburg, Memleben, Magdeburg, Hildesheim, Merseburg, Goslar, Königslutter, Meissen*, 1990).

(36) *Portable altar of Eilbertus*. c. 1150. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. (Source: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, website).

(37) Jean Pucelle, Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux. *Kiss of Judas, Annunciation, and portrait of Jeanne d'Evreux.* c. 1324-1328. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 54.1.2, fols. 15v-16r. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, from *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of France, at the Cloisters, the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1957).

Bibliography

Angenendt, Arnold. "Relics and Their Veneration." In *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, edited by Martina Bagnoli, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann and James Robinson, 19-28. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.

Backhouse, Janet. "D 93, Psalter Heinrich der Löwen." In *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235*. Vol. 1, *Katalog*, edited by Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, 294-296. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1995.

Bell, Susan Groag. "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture." *Signs* 7 (1982): 742-768.

Bowie, Colette. *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014.

Büttner, F. O. "Die illuminierte Psalter im Westen." In *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose, and Placement of its Images*, edited by F. O. Büttner, 1-106. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

Bumke, Joachim. *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*. Woodstock, NY: Overlook Duckworth, 2000.

Carrasco, Magdalena Elizabeth. "The Imagery of the Magdalen in Christina of Markyate's Psalter (St. Alban's Psalter)." *Gesta* 38 (1999): 67-80.

Carr, Annemarie W. "Diminutive Byzantine Manuscripts." *Codices Manuscripti* 6 (1980): 130-161.

Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Constable, Giles. *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Deshman, Robert. "The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald." *Viator* 11 (1980): 385-433.

De Winter, Patrick M. *The Sacral Treasure of the Guelphs*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985.

Dockray-Miller, Mary. *The Books and Life of Judith of Flanders*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015.

Dodwell, C.R. *Painting in Europe, 800-1200*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971.

Fuhrmann, Horst. "Herzog Heinrich der Löwe, sein Evangeliar— und die Frage des 'gerechten Preises'." In *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen und das mittelalterliche Herrscherbild*, edited by Horst Führmann and Florentine Mütherich, 9-23. Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1986.

Garrison, Eliza. *Ottonian Imperial Art and Portraiture: The Artistic Patronage of Otto III and Henry II*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012.

Giese, Martina, Gerhard Lutz, and Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck. "Hildesheim: Center of Medieval Art." In *Medieval Treasures from Hildesheim*, edited by Peter Barnet, Michael Brandt, and Gerhard Lutz, 3-19. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013.

Gilsdorf, Sean. "Deesis Deconstructed: Imagining Intercession in the Medieval West." *Viator* 43 (2012): 131-174.

Goldschmidt, Adolph. "A German Psalter of the Twelfth Century Written in Helmarshausen." *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 1 (1938): 18-23.

Gosebruch, Martin. "'Labor Est Herimanni': Zum Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen." *Abhandlungen der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft* 35 (1983): 135-161.

Gross-Diaz, Theresa. "The Latin Psalter." In *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Vol. 2, *From 600 to 1450*, edited by Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter, 427-445. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Hahn, Cynthia. *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-circa 1204*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012.

Hahn, Cynthia. "Viseo Dei: Changes in Medieval Visuality." In *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, edited by Robert S. Nelson, 169-196. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Hamburger, Jeffrey F. "Another Perspective: The Book of Hours in Germany." In *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, edited by Sandra Hindman and James H. Marrow, 97-152. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013.

Hamburger, Jeffrey F. *The Visual and Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.

Hamilton, Sarah. *Church and People in the Medieval West*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Hamilton, Sarah. "'Most illustrious king of kings': Evidence for Ottonian Kingship in the Otto III Prayerbook (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30111)." *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 257-288.

Hamilton, Tracy Chapman. "Queenship and Kinship in the French *Bible moralisée*: The Example of Blanche of Castile and Vienna ÖNB 2554." In *Capetian Women*, edited by Kathleen Nolan, 177-208. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003.

Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. "Evangeliar Heinrichs d. Löwen (Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2°) — Signaturdokument." Accessed January 27th, 2017. http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=105-noviss-2f&lang=en.

Hoffman, Hartmut. *Bücher und Urkunden aus Helmarshausen und Corvey*. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1992.

Hughes, Andrew. *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Jordan, Karl. *Henry the Lion: A Biography*. Translated by P.S. Falla. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

Kessler, Herbert L. *Seeing Medieval Art*. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004.

Klemm, Elisabeth. "Helmarshausen und das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen." In *Heinrichs des Löwen: Kommentar zum Faksimilie*, 42-76. Munich: Insel-Verlag, 1989.

Kroos, Renate. "Die Bilder." In *Heinrichs des Löwen: Kommentar zum Faksimilie*, 164-243. Munich: Insel-Verlag, 1989.

Krüger, Ekkehard. *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen bis in die Zeit Heinrichs des Löwen*. Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission und die Historische Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck, 1972.

Lasko, Peter. "Roger of Helmarshausen, Author and Craftsman: Life, Sources of Style, and Iconography." In *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, edited by Colum Hourihane, 180-201. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.

Leyser, K. J. *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours*. London: The Hambledon Press, 1982.

Lowden, John. "Illuminated Books and the Liturgy: Some Observations." In *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, edited by Colum Hourihane, 17-53. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.

Lowden, John. "Observations on Illuminated Byzantine Psalters." *The Art Bulletin* 70 (1988): 242-260.

Lyon, Johnathan R. *Princely Brothers and Sisters: The Sibling Bond in German Politics, 1100-1250*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013.

Marsengill, Katherine. *Portraits and Icons: Between Reality and Spirituality in Byzantine Art*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

Mayr-Harting, Henry. "Public Liturgy and Private Prayer in Ottonian Liturgical Manuscripts, c. 1000." In *Manuscripta Illuminata: Approaches to Understanding Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts*, edited by Colum Hourihane, 3-13. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014.

McGurk, Patrick, and Jane Rosenthal. "The Anglo-Saxon Gospelbooks of Judith, Countess of Flanders: Their Text, Make-up and Function." *Anglo-Saxon England* 24 (1995): 251-308.

Miner, Dorothy E, ed. *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1949.

Monroe, Elizabeth. "Mary Magdalene as a Model of Devotion, Penitence, and Authority in the Gospels of Henry the Lion and Matilda." In *Mary Magdalen in Medieval Culture: Conflicted Roles*, edited by Katherine L. Jansen and Theresa Coletti, 99-115. London: Routledge, 2014.

Mütherich, Florentine. "Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen und die Tradition des mittelalterlichen Herrscherbildes." In *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen und das mittelalterliche Herrscherbild*, edited by Horst Führmann and Florentine Mütherich, 25-34. Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1986.

Niehoff, Franz. "Heinrich der Löwe – Herrschaft und Repräsentation: Vom individuellen Kunstkreis zum interdisziplinären Brauschweiger Hof der Welfen." In *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235*. Vol. 2, *Essays*, edited by Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, 213-236. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1995.

Niehr, Klaus. "'Sehen und Erkennen'— Anspruch, Ästhetik, und Historizität der Ausstattung der Stiftskirche St. Blasius zu Braunschweig." In *Heinrich der Löwe und Seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235*. Vol. 2, *Essays*, edited by Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, 272-281. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1995.

Oakes, Catherine. *Ora Pro Nobis: The Virgin as Intercessor in Medieval Art and Devotion*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008.

Oexle, Otto Gerhard. "Fama und Memoria. Legitimationen fürstlicher Herrschaft im 12. Jahrhundert." In *Heinrich der Löwe und Seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235*, Vol. 2, *Essays*, edited by Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, 62-68. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1995.

Oexle, Otto Gerhard. "Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen als geschichtliches Denkmal." In *Heinrichs des Löwen: Kommentar zum Faksimilie*, 9-27. Munich: Insel-Verlag, 1989.

Parani, Maria G. *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Rubin, Miri. "God-Bearer and Woman: Christian Traditions of Picturing Mary Throughout History." In *Picturing Mary: Woman, Mother, Idea*, edited by Timothy Verdon, Melissa R. Katz, Amy G. Remensnyder, and Miri Rubin, 27-37. New York: Scala Art Publishers, Inc., 2014.

Rudy, Kathryn. "Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer." *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2 (2010): 1-44.

Saenger, Paul. "Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society." *Viator* 13 (1982): 367-414.

Safran, Linda. "Deconstructing 'Donors' in Medieval Southern Italy." *Wiener Jahrbuch Für Kunstgeschichte* 60/61 (2011/2012): 135-151.

Sand, Alexa. *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Schmitt, Jean-Claude. "The Ethics of Gesture." In *Fragments for a History of the Human Body, Part Two*, edited by Michel Feher with Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi, 129-147. New York: Zone Books, 1990.

Schubert, Ernst. "Der Hof Heinrichs des Löwen." In *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235*. Vol. 2, *Essays*, edited by Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, 190-198. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1995.

Stanton, Anne Rudloff. "Isabelle of France and her Manuscripts, 1308-1358," in *Capetian Women*, edited by Kathleen Nolan, 225-252. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Stanton, Anne Rudloff. "Turning the Pages: Marginal Narratives and Devotional Practice in Gothic Prayerbooks." In *Push Me, Pull You*. Vol. 1, *Imaginative and Emotional Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, edited by Sarah Blick and Laura D. Gelfand, 75-115. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Solterer, Helen. "Seeing, Hearing, Tasting Women: Medieval Senses of Reading." *Comparative Literature* 46 (1994): 129-145.

Stewart, Susan. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.

Swarzenski, Georg. "Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen." *Städel-Jahrbuch* 7-8 (1932): 241-397.

Swarzenski, Hanns. "Recent Literature, Chiefly Periodical, on Medieval Minor Arts." *The Art Bulletin* 24 (1942): 287-304.

Thompson, Rodney. "The Place of Germany in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance." In *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany*, edited by Alison I. Beach, 19-42. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.

Vauchez, Andre. *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs*. Translated by Margery J. Schneider. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993.

The Walters Art Museum. "A digital facsimile of Walters MS W. 10, Helmarshausen Psalter." Accessed September 10th, 2016. http://art.thewalters.org/files/pdf/W10.pdf.

Wieck, Roger S. *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1988.

Vita

Allison Michelle Porambo was born outside of Washington, D.C. After graduating from high school in Bowie, Maryland, in 2009, she entered the American University in Washington, the District of Columbia. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Art History from the American University in December 2012. During the following years, she worked as a gallery assistant and held museum internships throughout the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. In August 2015, she entered into graduate studies in the College of Fine Arts at the University of Texas at Austin.

Permanent email: amporambo@gmail.com

This thesis was typed by Allison Michelle Porambo.